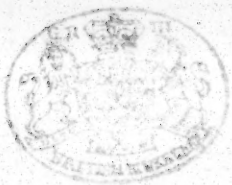
LETTERS
ON THE
IMPORTANCE
OF THE
RISING GENERATION
OF
The laboring part of our fellow-ſubjects.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

Political, moral, and religious obſervations on the education and inſtruction of the poor, marriage, and population. Reflections on the cauſes of the high price of proviſions; the danger of the national debt, expenſive living, and want of zeal for our common welfare.



288 d. 15

LETTERS

ON THE

IMPORTANCE

OF THE

RISING GENERATION

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The laboring part of our fellow-ſubjects;

BEING

An account of the miſerable ſtate of the infant pariſh poor; the great uſefulneſs of the hoſpital for expoſed and deſerted young children properly reſtricted; the obligations of parochial officers; and an hiſtorical detail of the whole mortality of London and Weſtminſter, from 1592 to this time.

WITH

Political, moral, and religious obſervations on the education and inſtruction of the poor, marriage, and population. Reflexions on the cauſes of the high price of proviſions; the danger of the national debt, expenſive living, and want of zeal for our common welfare.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

By JONAS HANWAY, Eſq;

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MDCCLXVII.



TO
The CANDID READER.

I Hope you approve of the efforts which I have made for the ſervice of the poor, and particularly the *infant pariſh poor* of theſe great cities. There is good reaſon to believe that a law will be made, on the foundation of the moſt urgent neceſſity which ever exiſted in any community, to prevent the effuſion of blood. No one will conceive that I mean this in a literal ſenſe, but that ill-timed parſimony, ignorance, and negligence, have operated like poiſon, and deſtroyed vaſt numbers of infants. But time ripens all the concerns of life, and death; and we may flatter ourſelves that theſe fatal diſeaſes will be cured, not in theſe cities only, but in other great towns, where the evil predominates.

Conceiving it to be no mean part of the taſk I have undertaken, I have thrown in

my mite towards the reduction of the price of *bread*, it being conſiderably too high in proportion to the price of corn, as well as the wretched adulteration of it. This alſo regards health and ſickneſs, happineſs and miſery, life and death; and there is reaſon to believe ſome ſalutary legiſlative reſolution will be taken upon it.

As to our conduct towards the adult pariſh poor, or young perſons paſt their infant ſtate, much is wanted to be done: but it depends more on the due execution of the laws already exiſting, than upon any new regulation. If divine laws do not render men *obedient*, human inſtitutions can hardly be expected to prevail. What a fatal error it is in many who are charged with the care of the poor, that they forget the appointments of providence, and the diſtinguiſhed favor of heaven! If they remembered the beatitudes annexed to an attentive concern for the preſervation of the poor, they would think themſelves in the true path which leads to immortal happineſs. They would ſee every parochial community, under what-

ever

ever name or legal regulation diſtinguiſhed, in ſuch a light that they could hardly fail of harmonizing in ſentiments; and forſake all narrow private intereſts and emoluments, which our laws never intended ſhould be indulged. They would unite in promoting the true welfare of the objects committed to their care, which requires too much time to allow of tedious harrangues, fruitleſs altercations, or perſonal vindictive diſputes.

You will alſo obſerve that I have gratified my inclinations in exploring a more ample field of national policy and humanity, as to the root of the impiety and miſery of the lower claſſes of the people; which ſeem to be growing up to maturity, If we cannot eradicate them entirely, let us at leaſt exert ourſelves to remove them, in the comfortable hope that they will ceaſe.

How this is to be accompliſhed, but by the virtue of the higher claſſes, is inconceivable to me. That there is ſtill a great deal of virtue amongſt us, cannot be diſputed:

neceſſity will generate more; and we muſt not deſpair, but that it may become faſhionable to indulge ourſelves in the pleaſure of promoting univerſal happineſs with reſpect to both worlds; and diſcountenance each other in the contracted felicity of vain and ſenſual indulgences in the parade and intemperance of life, which have been condemned by the wiſe in all ages. It is very eaſy to obſerve how ſhort and tranſient ſuch pleaſures are, even to thoſe who are moſt devoted to them; and how little they are diſtinguiſhed when multitudes purſue the ſame courſe. The poverty they often entail; the unforeſeen reverſe of fortune; ill-health, or age, and devouring time, uſually change the ſcene with an amazing rapidity!

A ſhort ſtudy of *arithmetical philoſophy*, in the probable duration of life, which I recommend in ſeveral of theſe pages, may eaſily open our eyes, in ſpite of the prevalency of cuſtom, or a ſucceſſion of vain and empty purſuits.

Our

Our liberty is built on virtue, and ſo is our national ſtrength. I hope the riches acquired by our *commerce* will not deceive us into our ruin; but that we ſhall make up our accounts and pay *our debts*; and not amuſe ourſelves with notions of being ſo much richer than we really are, leſt diſtreſs ſhould come upon us like an armed man.

In the mean time we may *naturally* turn our thoughts to other joys; the pleaſures of temperance and humanity; the awful fear of God; and the joyful hope of his favor. Theſe, like the ſoul, which is their true object, will, in the language of the Poet,

" *Flouriſh in immortal youth,*
" *Unhurt amidſt the wars of elements,*
" *The wrecks of matter, and the cruſh of worlds!*"

In a word, ſo long as the earth ſhall endure, may we hope by virtuous liberty to flouriſh as a nation; and render every individual,

vidual, through the travel of numerous ages to come, as happy as the advantageous condition of human life, in the enjoyment of freedom, will possibly admit.

Yours,

April,
1767.

J. H.

CON-

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General

General Reflections on Mortality.

To PHILO PAUPERIS.

LETTER I.

WHILST we are thinking of the preſervation of the poor, let us alſo provide for our own. Are honors, riches, applauſe, or truth, juſtice and mercy, your favorite objects? The better underſtanding you have, the more exalted will your deſigns be. But if you propoſe to yourſelf no end worthy the nobility of your nature, or do not comply with the conditions of the happineſs you are heir to, what will the reverſion avail? Conſider the injuſtice, detraction, countervention, ſervility and baſeneſs of a great part of mankind! Do not theſe leave you in doubt, whether men think of death, or believe in an after-account? If the whole man is abſorbed in the gratification of fancy and opinion, or any favorite habit or paſſion, which reaſon condemns, in the ſame proportion will the rectitude of his inclinations be warped, and his actions tainted.

We are *all* dupes to our own foibles: it is the degree of virtue or vice which conſtitutes the difference. We either live and die in a well grounded hope, or betray ourſelves into a fool's paradiſe. Every man who profeſſes what he believes to be *falſe*, is a knave: and he who does *not believe* what is given upon rational grounds; and which, if it be true, is of the laſt moment to him, is weak, abſurd, and fooliſh.

Moſt of us trifle away the great truth, that we are *to die*, in the ſame manner as we practically paſs over

the doctrine of an *after-account*. The firſt, with regard to others like ourſelves, is the object of ſenſe; but if neither upon this evidence we mend our ways, it is no wonder that we grow ſtupid as to matters of religion.

Be cautious of *your own heart*, particularly when you judge of other men's. The beſt actions are deeply dyed in frailty; and indiſcriminate, relentleſs, or vindictive accuſations are the ſtrongeſt proofs of depravity; ſo that whilſt we depreciate others, we ſhould be guarded not to vilify human nature. God is wiſe and good, but man having perverted his ways, wars with his own nature. Since it is ſo very apparent that we cannot exiſt but in ſociety, and that all true ſocial duties neceſſarily ariſe from a genuine ſelf-love; exert your judgment; give proof of your underſtanding; try how beſt to promote your own intereſt. If your views are bounded by the things you ſee; if your deſires are moſt gratified by objects of ſenſe; if your hopes are animated by nothing beyond the grave, the thought of death, even in arithmetical ſpeculation, will be diſguſtful, if not terrible to you. Every head-ach, every winter's cough, will force you to ſeek relief in diſſipation, though it ſhould bring on death ſo much the ſooner: and the notion that to mend your life is to *prepare for death*, will be of all others the moſt remote.

Men will ever be eſteemed by the virtuous part of their ſpecies in proportion to their ſuppoſed ſincerity with regard to the world, and their ability to be uſeful to others; but it muſt be remembered, that where the judge himſelf is not ſincere, he can form but imperfect ideas of the principles and motives which actuate others.

For this reaſon let it not give you much concern if unfair conſtructions are made of your conduct.

The pleaſing or painful thought of death, when properly indulged, acts with ſuch force as to confound all folly and miſrepreſentation. Virtue *can* ſupport us even under the thought of death.

From computing the ſpeedy mortality of infants, and the injury done our country, which *may* be in a great degree prevented, in order to profit by our ſtudy, let us make a natural tranſition to what *cannot* be prevented, namely the advance of years, and our own diſſolution. The philoſophic poet ſays,

" *To each unthinking Being, Heav'n a friend,*
" *Gives not the uſeleſs knowledge of its end.*
" *To man imparts it, but with ſuch a view,*
" *That whilſt he dreads it, makes him hope it too.*
" *The hour conceal'd, and ſo remote the fear,*
" *Death ſtill draws nearer, never ſeeming near.*
" *Great ſtanding miracle that Heav'n aſſign'd*
" *Its only thinking thing, this turn of mind.*"

This is indubitably true, and an awful monument of the infinite goodneſs of the great Author of nature! But it is equally true, and equally proves the indulgence of Heaven, that a certain thoughtful ſenſibility how beſt to perform the laſt ſcene which we are to act in life, founded on ſteady principles, will give the higheſt evidence that we live to a good purpoſe. If it were not ſo, it would be folly to implore the Deity, that we may number our days with a view to become ſo much the wiſer.

This plan of arithmetical philoſophy which I now

preſent you, is very eaſy to underſtand; but I fear, becauſe it is ſo eaſy, it will be as ſlightly regarded, as we paſs by a herſe, hardly obſerving how many horſes it is drawn by, or what uſe it is of.

We *ſee* within the circle of familiar friends and acquaintance, the countenance change; and as years ſteal on, we *hear* complaints of want of health, or want of ſtrength and energy; whilſt we behold in ſolemn proceſſion, ſome *with*, and ſome *without* this notice, numbers march off the ſtage of life, and leave us to lament our loſs—and to forget it. Repeated obſervation would caſt a gloom over the mind of a thoughtful man, if the ſame ſenſibility did not inſpire him with joy, at ſeeing as rapid a change from infancy to childhood; from childhood to youth; from youth to manhood, with all the ſeveral gradations of improvement, in charms of perſon and growing powers of mind.

The whole ſeries in the volume of nature is fraught with wonder. *Life* and *death*, like *ſummer* and *winter*, are ſo pregnant with a variety of change, that there is nothing of which the ſacred writings inform us, but demand our aſſent. The continuation of the ſame proportionate number of the ſexes, is wonderful. I ſee 174,797 males, and 166,348 females born, which is near equal as 14 to $13\frac{33}{100}$: and 258,790 males, and 263,129 females dead, which is near equal as 14 to $14\frac{23}{100}$. Why *moſt females* appear to have died, is from the numbers of men who are employed in war and commerce, and ſent out to our colonies. This reconciles the diſproportion upon a compariſon with the births. Here are 341,145 born, and 521,919 dead, ſo that the loſs is

180,774

180,774 (*a*) in twenty years (*b*); or 9038 per annum. These equal *births* carry with them evident marks of the finger of a ſupreme almighty director, under whoſe wiſe and merciful government we live; and the *deaths* the abuſe of his mercy! Yours, &c.

Computation of Human Life from 1 *to* 40.

LETTER II.

TO appeal to the evidence of numerical facts, let us enter into a critical examination of the bills of mortality. From the appearance of countenances, as you walk the ſtreets, you would not imagine that 1 in 5 lived to be 50 years of age. This however is nearly the fact: I find on 20,743 dead per annum, on a medium of 4 years, 16132 died under 50 years old, which is 77 per cent, or 3 on 100 leſs than 1 in 5.

To begin with a general view of life according to the common bills of mortality, I find as follows:

On 1000 born to 5 years old.	Dead 1ſt year.	Second year.	Third year.	Fourth year.	Fifth year.	Total dead.	Total per cent.
	250	113	40	27	20	450	
nearly per cent.	25	11	4	3	2		45
On 550 of 5 years old to 10.	6 years.	7 years.	8 years.	9 years.	10 yrs.		
	10	9	6	5	4	34	
nearly per cent.	2	2	1	$\frac{7}{11}$	$\frac{5}{11}$		$6\frac{1}{11}$
On 516 of 10 years old to 15.	11 years.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.		
	4	3	3	2	2	14	
nearly per cent.	$\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{2}{5}$		$2\frac{4}{5}$
Total dead from the birth to 15 years old						498	54

A 2

(*a*) From 1688 to 1750 the loſs was 506,410. (*b*) 1713 to 1720, and 1730 to 1741.

As for *adults* of the ſubſequent 25 years, the thread of life is ſpun out longer by $16\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. agreeable to the following ſtate:

On 502 (remaining of the 1000) of 15 years to 40.	Dead by 20 years old.	By 25 years.	By 30 years.	By 35 years.	By 40 years.	Total dead.	Total per cent.
	17	37	40	46	50	190	—
nearly per cent.	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$7\frac{2}{3}$	$7\frac{4}{5}$	$9\frac{1}{3}$	10	—	$37\frac{4}{3}$

Dead from 1 to 15, as before mentioned — 498

Dead from the birth to 40 years of age, in 1000 — — — — — — — 688

Thus we ſee that from 20 to 25, death takes off 4 in 100 more than from 15 to 20, the reaſon of which muſt ariſe from greater vice and intemperance at this period.

From 25 to 30 the chance is nearly the ſame as from 20 to 25.

After 30, which is the *prime* of life, we begin to feel decay, and that which in the 5 preceding years was but $7\frac{4}{5}$ per cent is now $9\frac{1}{3}$.

When we reach 40 it riſes up to 10 per cent.

Upon the whole account of 15 to 40 years of age, $37\frac{4}{3}$ per cent. die in theſe cities, viz. above 1 in 3, which I apprehend may be nearly the ſame over the whole kingdom; for the mortality here, where ſo much aſſiſtance is given, is not great, except among infants.

The moſt intelligent part of mankind, who live in affluence, and have the knowledge and the means of preſerving themſelves, more than the illiterate and lower claſſes,

claſſes, do not always diſcover, in the perſons of their own acquaintance, the true rate of mortality. Yet were they to keep a regiſter of *them*, their ages, and the time of their departure, for the period of *ten* or *twenty* years, it would hold up ſuch a picture as would check their vaineſt conceits; and, if they were wiſe, humble them to the duſt.

If we conſider how many of the lower ranks have occaſionally very *bad* proviſion, or commit great exceſs when they meet with very *good*; that they ſometimes *want* and ſometimes *abound*; and are expoſed to heat and cold, moiſt and dry, and frequently to foul air, we muſt not wonder if in general their lives are ſhortened.

A true view of life ſeems to be ſomething like that of a precipice from which it is neceſſary to *plunge*, not to be daſhed in pieces, but in hopes to be received into elyſian joys. But ſtill we deſire a reprieve, flattering ourſelves that it is *beſt* we ſhould not die 'till ſome diſtant day: and indeed there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that to the bulk of mankind who think properly of death, a reprieve renders their lives inſtrumental to a happy exit; and ſo far life muſt be conſidered as a *bleſſing*, and we ought to pray for it.

It is a matter of *curioſity* to inveſtigate the bills of mortality, but not therefore the leſs importantly uſeful; we are ſo fond of cheating ourſelves, that the ſtrongeſt proofs which natural, experimental, or arithmetical philoſophy produce, can hardly give us the ſlighteſt impreſſions of our approaching end. Can we then do too much, to induce ourſelves to number our days, in ſuch

a true

a true and familiar ſenſe, as that we may diligently apply ourſelves to learn the *end* of life? Yours, &c.

Further view of the Mortality of Human Life, from 40 *to* 80.

LETTER III.

MEN are ſaid to be *fools* or *phyſicians* for themſelves by the age of 40: may we not add, that they are fools or confeſſors, and inſtructors to themſelves at this period? not but there is a vaſt field before us, and time ſtill matures the judgment.

"*The ſoul's dark cottage batter'd and decay'd,*
"*Let's in new light through chinks which time has made.*"

What an ingenious writer obſerves, is well grounded, that ſcarcely do we find the key of life before the gates of death are opened to us:

"*And truly life can little more ſupply,*
"*Than juſt to look about us—and to die.*

Happy it is when in a moral and religious ſenſe, we do really *look about us*, and ſurvey the world as it is, a ſcene of guilt and ſorrow, yet mixed with virtue and joy; not a reſting place, but a journey of toil and difficulty.

Let us now examine how many drop between 40 and 50.

312 (remaining of the 1000) of 40 years old to 50.	Dead by 45.	Dead by 50.	per cent. by 45.	per cent. by 50.	Total dead.	Total per cent.
	50	47	16	15	97	31

Dead in 1000 by 40 as already ſhewn 688

Dead from birth to 50 years old — 785

which

which is within 2 per cent. of 4 in 5 of all that were born, the computation being made upon 30 years.

The duration of life which may be now computed on, is 15 years, the time which it pleaſed the Almighty to grant the good King *Hezekiah*, upon his earneſt petition to heaven, probably made with the hopes of doing ſome great thing for his family or people.

Fifteen years!—They are gone as it were whilſt the clock is ſtriking twelve. It is an ample period of delay in common life, when they are only begun, and where men are willing to reach their journey's end; but how ſeldom is this the caſe? When nature has done her office with ſo much tenderneſs, as to bring us to the end of 50 years, the ſame indulgence to our intellectual powers might make us ſee, with the mind's eye, the effulgency of thoſe adamantine towers which open the entrance of the boundleſs regions of immortality, the glories of which the heart cannot conceive. The mind naturally ſeeks for pleaſure, and we ſhould compaſs this ſolid hope, not viſionary illuſion, if we *numbered* our days, and applied our hearts to *wiſdom*.

Fifteen years, and no more—to be computed on! uncertain if it ſhall be ſo many days: is not this ſufficient reaſon to prepare?—Sure we are that the hour of death approaches, at all ages, and that *time* never ſleeps or ſtops its courſe. Every hour brings on the day, not of *our* exit only, but of the conſummation of all the ends of the creation of mankind, in reſpect to this globe. It brings on that tremendous period, when the Judge of the whole earth will appear in the clouds of heaven,

to condemn or approve that conduct which depends on theſe our fleeting hours! Doth it not then behove us to arrange our affairs; to make our peace with God and men; and to prepare to ſet out. Such is the leſſon which this arithmetical philoſophy teaches, viz.

On 215 (remaining of the 1000) of 50 years to 65.	Dead by 55.	Dead by 60.	Dead by 65.	Total dead.	Total per cent.
	42	38	33	113	—
Per cent. - - - -	13⅓	12⅓	15⅓	—	41

Dead from birth to 50 on 1000 — 785

Dead to 65 on 1000 — — — 898

It is true this laſt is but 41 in 100, but obſerve how many fall at 55 and 60, and you will find that 2 in 5, of theſe ages, brings it to a full medium computation, and agrees nearly with the accounts of France. And what do the remainder paſt 65 *begin* to be? oftentimes mere *remnants of themſelves*, graſping at the world, when it is impoſſible they can hold it — And let us ſee what their chance is.

On 102 (remaining of the 1000) of 65 to 80 years.	Dead by 70.	Dead by 75.	Dead by 80.	Total dead.	Total per cent.
	30	25	20	75	—
Nearly per cent. - -	29⅓	24½	19½	—	73⅓

Dead from birth to 65 in 1000 — 898

Dead from birth to 80 in 1000 — 973

What think you now if it ſhall pleaſe heaven that you reach 80? There will then remain of the *thouſand* 27. Do you wiſh to be of this number alſo, who for the moſt part rather vegetate than live? What is it to *live*, but

to

to *enjoy* the celeſtial powers of reaſon!—The 27 in 1000 may drag out life to 90 on a medium; yet from this general computation it is obvious, that what was remarked by a great prince and penitent, who ruled a mighty nation ſo many years before the promulgation of the chriſtian law, is juſt and true at this day.

Threeſcore years and ten is an age of great dignity, as if heaven had been peculiarly indulgent: for if men reach *fourſcore*, their days will probably be labor and ſorrow. Few have the fortune of *Lewis Cornaro* the noble Venetian. The energy of thought is gone, and the devices of their hearts oftentimes puerile. Heaven guard us againſt the loſs or decay of reaſon!

The abſtract of this mortality of 1000 born ſtands thus:

	Birth to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 15.	15 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 65.	65 to 80.	Total dead.	Total. per cent.
	450	34	14	190	97	113	75	973	—
per cent.	45	$3\frac{2}{5}$	$1\frac{2}{5}$	19	$9\frac{7}{10}$	$11\frac{3}{10}$	$7\frac{5}{6}$	—	$97\frac{3}{10}$

Thus do we

"*Strut and fret our hour upon the ſtage,*
"*And then are heard no more.*"——

Time, ſays a bold writer, is a *God*.—Indeed if we adore *time*, we adore him who gave it.—If we adore time we ſhall not abuſe it; and if we employ it as we ought, we ſhall anſwer *his* great purpoſe who gave us liſe and all its joys, *that we might adore the donor*.

The computation of the chance of life according to an old French account of France.

After years of age.	May live years.
4	41
8	41
12	38
18	34
26	30

By *our* accounts, 570 of the age of 4 produce 262 at the age of 45; which is 46 in 100.—So, at 26 years of age, 440 produced 197 at 52 years old, which is near 45 per cent.—28 is ſuppoſed to be the medium number of years a man may then live, though *we* ſeldom give a a greater purchaſe than 15 to 20.

After years of age.	May live years.
30	28
35	25
40	22
45	19
50	16

By *our* accounts of 488 living at 30, are alive at 58, 149, or 30 per cent. We ſuppoſe about 50 to be a medium at this time of life. So at 50, 215 produced 102 alive at 65, which is computed nearly the laſt fifth of life. *They* ſuppoſe $\frac{4}{5}$ of life gone at 50, *we* $\frac{4}{5}$; ſo that the difference is $\frac{1}{20}$, or 5 per cent. and $52\frac{1}{2}$ years of age in France to be equal to 50 in England. But yet it ſeems as if *we* lived to a greater age than the *French*, computed on the bills of mortality.

After years of age	May live years.
55	14
60	11
65	8
70	6
75	4
80	3

102 in England at 65 are reduced to 27 at 80. To ſuppoſe theſe may live to 83, is taking near the third of 19, ſuppoſing the extreme age to be 89. But *we* compute that a whole 1000 are not gone till 94, and we often find that 2 or 3 on 24,000 buried in a year, exceed 100.

Yours, &c.

Obſerva-

Obſervations on the preceding Computations, and an Eſtimate of Life with regard to Death.

LETTER IV.

WHO can contemplate the ſtate of man, and not diſcover how ſhort a time is allotted him! Who can ruminate on the *paſt*, the *preſent* and the *future*, and dare to procraſtinate any buſineſs of life, which he is fully convinced from his conſciouſneſs of good and evil he is accountable for, and ought to be done. If the employment of your thoughts, the uſe of your ſpeech, and the quality of your actions are the objects on which your everlaſting intereſt depends, be ſpeedy in the execution of your own purpoſes. If the Almighty hath ſent his Son, the Saviour of the world, upon earth, to give you the cleareſt information what manner of life you ſhould lead, lead *that life*. If he hath left on record, on what conditions you may expect everlaſting happineſs after death, obſerve them: do not truſt a day, an hour. Your days wing their flight, and one ſucceeds another. Time has no duration or exiſtence, but as we employ it. The *peaſant* who is ſincere, juſt and merciful, is in a fair road: *you* can be no more. Truſt not to education, what we vulgarly call *liberal* education: it is oftentimes very illiberal, as to the true knowledge and practice of religion. What have you before you?—a precarious life at every ſtage of it! After 50 years, 785 in a 1000 are already ſtruck off the liſt of the living. Conſider how much

we are generally obliged to wreſtle with death after this period: the wiſer you are, the leſs reluctant you will be to lay down quietly, in hopes of *everlaſting reſt.*

Whether from *time*, or the accidents ariſing from climate or occupation; from your own exceſſes, or the intemperance of your parents; nay from your virtues, you may be thrown into the arms of death. Thoſe who have eſcaped the ſtorms of life, and land in hopes of comfort and repoſe, do but begin to play this laſt *fifth act*; and they muſt look back on the other four, ere the end and purpoſe of the ſcene can be developed.

And what time of life is exempt from vigilance? You cannot be inſenſible how often you have been diſturbed by the inſurrection of enemies, worked into the compoſition of your frame. Yet with regard to your *body*, you are of all animals the moſt capable of repair: and with reſpect to your *ſoul*, ſorrow and contrition for what is paſt, plead with an angel's voice, and offer ſovereign medicines to heal your wounds.

Conſider what you are, and what you *may* be. If any thing is to be done you have no time to loſe. You are ſure the ſprings of life wear out, and the machine of courſe will ceaſe its motion, and all the thoughts and devices of your heart will periſh.

Though we ſhould ſteer our courſe with ever ſo rational a circumſpection, yet are we often driven upon ſands, and when we meant to aſſiſt others, find it difficult to preſerve our own poor veſſel. The ſhip being neceſſarily a-float, ſometimes in ſmooth water, with a leading

leading gale, ſometimes in a ſtorm, it muſt founder at laſt, drive on a rock, or be *broken* up in *harbor*.

If the *beſt* who ſerve mankind, and the *worſt* who diſtreſs them, during their ſhort ſpan, are ſo far on a level, the importance of man's life and the adjuſtment of all ſeeming irregularities muſt be referred to an after-account. Even the moſt glorious incentive to action, the love of our country, if it is not regulated by the ruling principle of *immortality*, on what ſolid ground doth it ſtand?

Conſider man as a rational and accountable creature, to whom the paſt, the preſent, and the future, are at once ſufficiently opened to his view, to give him the ſtrongeſt conviction of his proper ſtate and condition. Is it not then amazing that any of thoſe who from their childhood are taught to *think*, ſhould ſo far violate the *great law of conſideration* as to become *careleſs?*

Is it a repugnance to death which makes men thoughtleſs? Is it from the *weakneſs* of the heart, or the *perverſeneſs* of the will, that we are generally ſo reluctant to ſubmit to nature and omnipotence? Arithmetical philoſophy is as eaſily learnt as to make common obſervations on men's countenances, the daily occurrences of the ſickneſs and deaths of our friends and acquaintance, or to take a careful peruſal of bills of mortality. At the period of 50 years, avarice or ambition, and the corroding cares of the world, generally prevail moſt; yet this age leaves us upon the earth, only as 1 in 5 who were born at the ſame time as ourſelves:—and it leaves us to behold the ſun, and draw in the vital air, as it were only to ſeek

the

the welfare of other men, as the ſupreme object and abſolute condition of our own happineſs, in that *no longer diſtant country*, for we are already arrived in the confines of it. Infirmities of body are perpetual monitors. Experience, religious wiſdom, and political virtue, all unite their force to render us faithful ſubjects and ſervants to the great Lord of the univerſe, to be employed as the inſtruments of his providence in the preſervation of our fellow-creatures.

If the edge of your inclination to vice or folly is not blunted; if your underſtanding and heart are not improved, both which, in the order of time and nature, muſt be preſumed to take place, to what *end* have you lived 50 years? If indolence or careleſneſs, at every period, is inconſiſtent with the active ſocial nature of man, what are we to do, according to our reſpective fortunes, rank and mental powers, but to devote our lives to the ſervice of other men, as the true and proper object of our own happineſs? Why ſhould we wiſh to *live*, but as we can render our lives uſeful in this great view?

This is what our religion teaches, from the very dawnings of reaſon, to all the followers of that great prince and law-giver, who laid down *his life for us*, at an earlier age than 50. This is the doctrine which the meaneſt of mankind may underſtand, in the cottage, as well as the palace: it checks the pride and preſumption of the rich, and cheriſhes and exalts the poor. If ſtrict juſtice be done to each other, *mercy* and *truth* will embrace, and *peace* and *plenty* will ſmile around.

This

This is the reverſe of that covetous rapacious temper which the deſire of wealth and voluptuous enjoyments ſo uniformly promotes in the world, and which, when firmly eſtabliſhed, ſometimes become irradicable but by the extinction of a nation. This the hiſtory of the world proves; and this, if we have any ſenſe of the conſequences of immorality, muſt put us on our guard.

If we trace the veſtiges of ancient Rome, by the records of the patriotiſm of her citizens, and the venerable remains of her ſumptuous edifices, let us alſo reflect that theſe lords of the earth are no more! Theſe lords of the earth, who affected to civilize mankind by carrying their arms to diſtant regions, intoxicated with pride, mollified by luxury, and departing from the fear of their gods, became a prey to each other! Such may be our caſe, if thoſe who, from natural temper and education are capable of reflection, do not reflect *in time*, and reſolve to act agreeable to their own principles. Our ſuperiority to the ancient Romans is as great as everlaſting truth excels error and deluſion. It is true they adopted this glorious principle of liberty, that ſelf-love and ſocial affections terminate in the ſame point. This was indeed deeply rooted in their minds, as a part of their politics, their morals, their religion: ſo far they were chriſtians: and ſo long as they acted by the beſt lights they had, they were formidable and renowned. How much they thought religion eſſential to their *being*, is obvious from what Cicero declared to the ſenate. He ſays, "Value ourſelves as we may, *venerable fathers!* yet have we neither excelled the *Spaniards* in numbers,

the *Gauls* in ſtrength, the *Carthaginians* in ſtratagem, nor the *Grecians* in arts; nor in ſhort have we out-done thoſe of our own neighbouring nations the *Italians* and *Latins*, in natural parts or ſenſe; — but by piety, by religion; by this *only point of wiſdom*, we have fully perceived all things ordered and directed by the *influence of the immortal gods*, and have brought theſe people and nations under our ſubjection."—— And do *we* not ſubſiſt by obedience to *our* laws, the conſiſtency of our conſtitution, and the purity of *our* religion? Our laws are founded on the laws of Chriſt. If *he*, the Son of God, the great prince and ſovereign of the univerſe; if *he*, at whoſe commands the ſtorm was laid, the blind ſaw, the lame walked, and the dead aroſe; if *he*, whoſe laws are tranſmitted down for our guidance, and whoſe promiſes extend to eternity; if *he*, whoſe precepts breathe the moſt exalted leſſons of philanthropy, and who at length died for *his country*, and *mankind*: if *he* cannot inſpire us with a true ſpirit of liberty, and a juſt ſenſe of patriotiſm, *we* muſt ſink under the weight of our own corruption, as the *ancient Romans* did under theirs.

Experience ſhould teach us the advantages which ariſe from a knowledge of the genius of our fellow-ſubjects in general. We ſhall no ſooner diſcover the evil habits they have contracted by the encreaſe of opulence, and the force of imitation, than we ſhall alſo find that the moſt effectual means of bringing them back to a right ſenſe of their condition, is for the *higher* claſſes of the people, firſt to underſtand *theirs*. Without this it may be doubted if either force or perſuaſion will effec-

tually prevail. If piety and parſimony, and a proper ſubmiſſion to the decrees of providence, become the ruling principle of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of property, and they give proof of it by their conduct, it will operate with a reſiſtleſs force. For though we ſtill retain a part of our ancient ferocious temper, yet have we alſo that native ingenuouſneſs and candor which liberty and good ſenſe inſpire. Conſequently this will ſerve, not only as an example, but alſo as a means whereby government will recover the dignity, energy and force, ſo eſſential to our well-being. Hence it is plain that we muſt ſtill revert to the virtue of individuals. What the portion of it is, which will preſerve us, God only knows; but it ſeems as if we were all perſuaded that we are at preſent very deficient of the true ſtandard, or ſterling virtue, neceſſary to our exiſtence.

The fear of God is the *beginning* of wiſdom; where this predominates, the integrity of the heart will point out to us the true objects of our hopes and fears: the capricious dictates of libertiniſm, avarice, ambition, or ſelf-conceit, will give place to ſolid arguments; and even a conteſt for *bewitching power* will be abſorbed in the practice of ſocial duties, which alone can give permanency to *freedom*, more dear than life itſelf.

Whilſt the brave man ſubmits to the diſpenſations of providence, in *life* and *death*, he will be ready to ſhed his blood in defence of that ſyſtem of laws and government by which a *rational*, *civil* and *religious* liberty is maintained. And when *his hour comes*, whilſt he invokes his Maker for mercy for his own ſins, he will with a

ſeraphic ardor implore the Sovereign of the univerſe to *ſave his country!* Yours, &c.

Further Moral and Religious Reflections on the common Condition of Human Life.

LETTER V.

WHETHER it be in *England* or in *France*, or the moſt diſtant region, the arrows of death fly ſwift. The ſun will not guard us by day, nor the moon by night: theſe indeed proclaim *his* power on whom our protection depends. Extreme old age, like the firſt prize in a lottery, is gained by ſomebody; and every one wiſhes for it. Will it afford you any conſolation to know that upon the years 1756, 1757, 1758 and 1765, there died upon a medium as follows:

Between the ages of 81 to 90 died 431 perſons, which on a general number of 700,000 inhabitants is about 3 in 5000.

Between the ages of 91 to 100, died 69 perſons, which is near 1 in 10,000. If you have a mind to flatter yourſelf that you ſhall combat mortality to the age of 80, then you may reckon

From 81 to 90 lived 27 in *one thouſand*, to die yearly.
From 91 to 100 lived 4 in *ten thouſand*, to die yearly.

And what is ſtill more, there are a few beyond all notice of calculators. In this vaſt number of inhabitants, we find upon a medium there generally lives annually to 100, 2; to 104 and 106, of each of theſe periods 1, as it were to remind us of the bare poſſibility of living

ſo

ſo long. But why we ſhould wiſh it I know not. In every view of life, having at the utmoſt ſo ſhort a time to live, it will be moſt fooliſh to ſeek occaſions of inquietude, inſtead of the means of calming our own paſſions and thoſe of other men.—The thought of death is a ſovereign remedy, to cure the diſeaſes which often prove mortal to the ſoul.

This view ſhould by no means draw a cloud over your enjoyments. On the contrary, let your ambition be fired with hope, and aſpire at living ſuch an equal conſiſtent life, that it may be ſaid of you,

"*From Nature's temp'rate feaſt he roſe well ſatisfy'd,*
"*Thank'd God that he had liv'd and that he dy'd.*"

Whatever your fortune may be, your happineſs will depend on it much leſs than on your turn of mind. In this mixed ſtate of things you muſt expect to ſee good and evil mixed and blended, or alternately ſucceeding each other. Virtue, as well as vice, oftentimes gives riches; riches as often produce ſin and folly; ſin and folly generate poverty and repentance; poverty and repentance reſtore us again to the arms of virtue. And thus the wheel goes round. The greateſt apparent evils frequently turn out the greateſt goods. Storms and inundations, which ſometimes deſpoil the natural world of her riches and her beauty, are ſucceeded by ſun ſhine and ſhowers to bleſs the fruitful year: and a marriage, and a birth, muſt be ſet againſt a ſickneſs and a death. So in the moral and intellectual world, the charms and advantages of virtue ſtand againſt the turpitude and miſerios

ſeries of vice. One goes off the ſtage and one comes on.

" *Heir urges heir, like wave impelling wave.*"

To make yourſelf the object of your own thoughts, how long you ſhall live, is making life a burthen. It is enough that you always live ſo as to meet death gracefully. If men of 20 to 30 were to caſt lots which 4 in 100 ſhould die; and again between 30 and 40, which 5 ſhould be executed; and again be expoſed to the ſame chance at 41 to 50, to ſee which 6 ſhould terminate their life; I fancy it would lower their creſt in every period, and render them more rational and conſiſtent Beings. This in effect is the condition of human life; and being made ſo by him who is the Lord of life, and the diſpoſer of all things, you who never paid any valuable conſideration, may very decently ſubmit to reſign all the property you have in it; eſpecially when you have had it long enough to anſwer all the great ends of your own happineſs.

Nor ought this arithmetical view of life to ſtartle, much leſs to confound you. He who dies young is the leſs wedded to the world, leſs guilty, leſs afraid. If further advanced, nothing can be more true, or according to nature, than the ingenious Pope's remark,

" *Taught half by reaſon, half by mere decay,*
" *To welcome death, and calmly paſs away.*"

Neither from this general view ought you to ſorrow, much leſs to ſtand aghaſt, as to the ſtate after death. If you

you muſt truſt to-morrow for whatever it ſhall bring forth, you may ſurely truſt God and his word, if you *believe* in him. In the mean while the wonders of the divine benignity are illuſtriouſly diſplayed; for man is fitted for *death* as he is for *life*, by time and maturity of judgment.

And as nothing can be more certain than that time wings on his rapid courſe, and death approaches with a ſolemn, awful pace, more ready to throw his darts when we tranſgreſs by intemperance: and whilſt a thouſand of his emiſſaries lurk in ambuſcade, the vital ſprings, which animate this frame, gradually loſe their tone and elaſtic powers. It is with life as with the revolving ſeaſons of the year: we hardly get into the full enjoyment of a ſummer's day, before the rural ſhade and verdant lawn, the azure ſky and balmy air vaniſh, and for the preſent ceaſe. Even this ſolid maſs of matter, and our kindred earth we tread upon, remind us of an approaching change. Permit me then to remind *you* to hold faſt this conſolation, as more permanent than the great globe itſelf: retain the ſincerity of your heart, the propriety of your actions, as a rational, ſocial, and accountable Being. Theſe will give you a foretaſte of that immortality, after which the ſoul ſo naturally longs. Theſe will enable you to look down in triumph on death and the grave!

When *religion* with benignant, tho' awful ſmiles, gives aſſurance that you need only to be *good*, to be *happy*; and that the goodneſs of a *man*, is not the perfection of an *angel*; your thoughts will ſtill revert to the ſincerity of

your

your heart, and the rationality of your conduct; and the more theſe are indulged, the more perceptibly you will adhere to the great law of the Saviour of the world. Charity to your fellow creatures, will thus become as a ſtar to guide your ſteps through the dangerous paths of life; and whether your journey be long or ſhort, will be of no great moment to you.

It is true we flatter ourſelves to the laſt hour of life, and whatever your opinion is, you muſt not tell your moſt loved friend, Sir, by the courſe of mortality joined to your diſeaſes, the chance is againſt your living above a year or two. But ſuppoſing, for the greater ſecurity of your concerns in both worlds, you think ſo yourſelf, and leave the reſt to God and nature; may you not triumph to the laſt, over the pains and decay you feel? *Truſt in God*; chearfulneſs is as eſſential to your religion, as your religion is to chearfulneſs. To be diſcontented becauſe you *can* have ſo little more of life, or becauſe it is become ſo much leſs pleaſant to you than it was, is in effect to complain of the order of nature, ſince nothing is more true, than that the happieſt of mankind are taught, as the poet ſays, half by decay, half by reaſon, to welcome death, and leave the world as calmly going to reſt.

The only *evil* is pain, and if yours is *not* acute, it is a ſhame for you not to bear it; it may ere long be removed. If *it is* acute it muſt ſoon ceaſe: you will bring it to an end, or it will bring an end to you. Conſider death only as the ceſſation of motion, and with it of labor and vexation. Abſtracted from a *future ſtate*,

there

there is nothing more in it. Age, ſickneſs, and pain, or at leaſt the act of dying, be it ſooner or later, happily or unhappily, is common to all men. But in death, conſidered as an entrance upon *another* life, the great object is, *how* you have lived in *this*. If you have made it the buſineſs of your days to be in friendſhip with your own heart, and endevored to offer it as a pure ſacrifice to the God that made it: if you have implored his pardon, through the merits of your Redeemer, for your numerous defects and offences; this ſeems to be the ſum and ſubſtance, the end and purpoſe of all calculation, from the coſt of the pen to the value of the ſoul.

Upon the whole, how monſtrous and abſurd it is, for us creatures who pretend to reaſon, to juſtice, honor, truth, and every thing that is good, ſo far as theory extends, if in practice we act abominably. How ſhall we anſwer the neglect of the moſt eſſential duties, which are ſo clearly pointed out to us by him whoſe wiſdom could not err; whoſe veracity is truth itſelf; whoſe promiſes to us are ſo vaſtly benign; whoſe threatnings ſo tremendous; whoſe life and death are ſuch tender admonitions; whoſe precepts and commands are tranſmitted down to us ſo clearly and intelligibly! Even our plan of national liberty, in defence of which we ſay we are ready to ſhed our blood; it is but a *temporal* concern; this our *everlaſting* intereſt.

Yours, &c.

The true Eſtimate of Praiſe for virtuous Actions.

LETTER VI.

LET us then, at leaſt in the *evening* of our days, run over the buſy ſcenes of life, and thank heaven for the dangers we have eſcaped. When the paſſions and deſires, which in the ordinary courſe of life have ſometimes tranſported us, are quiet, let experience take the lead; let us lament our paſt propenſity to evil, by future diligence to avoid it; and bluſh to fall into the ſame treſpaſs when the propenſity is ſo much weaker, and reaſon and experience operate ſo much ſtronger. And ſeeing that happineſs and chearfulneſs are ſuch inſeparable companions, let us not amuſe ourſelves with any gloomy vain conceit, that we ſhall find the one, if we neglect to cultivate a good correſpondency with the other.

To endevor to be as happy as life will admit, and on ſuch terms of obedience to the Author of nature, as reaſon and revelation point out, is a duty which every man owes ſo much to himſelf, that it is impoſſible to juſtify a different conduct on any principle of common ſenſe. The beſt proof we can give of repentance is, *that* very amendment which ariſes from *principle*, and which cannot be accompliſhed without producing *joy*. The love of *God* and the love of *men*, are coeval in the human breaſt, and ſuch love caſteth out fear, cheriſhes hope, enlivens the heart, clears the underſtanding; and

whilſt

whilſt we contemplate *death* as a paſſage into life eternal, we ſhall triumph in our exiſtence!

Having conſidered ſo much of our ſubject as to the arithmetical part, and ſatisfied our own minds to a degree of mathematical demonſtration, let us *try the experiment*, and ſee if the remedy be not within our reach. Life only can afford an opportunity to carry this matter into conſequences of the greateſt moment. Behold this hiſtory of life and death, which undraws the veil, and diſcovers the indigence of human nature; and whilſt it leads us to the conſideration of the precarious ſtate and ſhortneſs of life in general, it inſtructs us in the duty we owe to God and our country, with reſpect to the tenderneſs and compaſſion due to the poor. It comprehends this as well as the preparation we ought to make for death, upon the aſſurance of the immortality of the ſoul, and a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments after we have run this ſhort precarious courſe.

We have no time for fruitleſs altercation. We have no time for corroding fears, perplexing hopes, or heart-tormenting conteſts for power. Let us employ our ſterling ſenſe, in ſterling purpoſes of utility; in genuine efforts of Britiſh philanthropy, and in a ſtrict adherence to truth; that whatever ſhall be moſt for the ſervice of our country, *that* may be purſued without any recriminations.

Whilſt we are attempting to reduce *theory* to *practice*, in a particular inſtance, the repeated occaſions which daily offer, from the numerous accidents of life, for the

exerciſe of humanity, will ſhame our languor if we are defective in zeal. An incident which occurred here (*a*) the other day, will give you pleaſure. General *Fitz-Williams*, a nobleman, a ſoldier, and what is plain, a friend to human kind, ſitting on the bank of theſe ſtreams, indulging ſweet eaſe and reſt, in the converſation of a very amiable lady, his wife, eſpied a boy who had got out of his depth, and was ſinking.—The *General*, impelled by his humanity, and regardleſs of his health, plunged into the river, and ſaved the child out of the jaws of death. It was his great happineſs, that he could ſwim. It is *yours* and *mine* that we can tell our ſtory, and implore the mercy of the public not for a ſingle child, but for many thouſand children who *are*, and *will* be ſinking, into an aqueous or an earthly grave.

Among the ancient Romans, he who ſaved the life of a citizen in battle, was rewarded with a *civic crown*. A civic crown, you know, was an honor which this brave people had as good reaſon to eſteem, though it was but a wreath of oak leaves, as Britons who ſet a high value on popular applauſe, which is but the breath of a company of talkers. The contempt of praiſe ſeems to be as vain a thing as the being paſſionately enamoured of it is weak and puerile. Nothing makes a deeper wound on a generous heart than *ingratitude*; and for the ſame reaſon there is not any thing more pleaſing than to be beloved by thoſe whom we love. And how is a man to know that others entertain any affection for him, if they

(*a*) Richmond in Surry, Summer, 1766.

they give him no external marks of it? Yet it is moſt true that

" *Great minds, like heav'n, are pleas'd with doing good,*
" *Tho' th'ungrateful objects of their bounty*
" *Are barren in return.*"

To *do good* to thoſe whom we love, whether they be ſenſible of it or not, is no leſs natural to the heart than *ſincerity* in love, eſteem, or friendſhip is an effort of the underſtanding. *Inſincerity* in any thing, is repugnant to *honeſty*.

As to the applauſe of men for *good actions*, reſpecting ſociety, in whatever manner it be expreſt, is immaterial, provided it be underſtood. Cicero himſelf eſteemed it an honor to receive this wreath of oak leaves upon his diſcovery of Cataline's conſpiracy. No Roman in battle, or under the reſentment of a conſpirator, could well be in greater danger of his life than many thouſand of our young fellow-citizens, from the indiſcretion of pariſh officers.—But this it is hoped will ceaſe: let us ſuppoſe that now, by diſcharging their duty well, they will all deſerve *civic crowns*.

What think you of a gold medal, of only a guinea or two in weight, to be ſtruck from a dye made for the purpoſe, to be given to the eldeſt officer of every year, who could make it appear that of any number, not leſs than 20 children, received by the pariſh, under 12 months old, 8 of them were alive the *tenth* year? He might have permiſſion to wear this mark of diſtinction on Sundays and great feſtivals, faſtened by a ribbond to one of the

button-holes of his coat. It would give occaſion for ſentiments and emulations of the moſt uſeful and honorable kind, in behalf of the poor.

It is recorded of a Roman Emperor, remarkable for his goodneſs, that he called himſelf to account every night for what he had done in the day, and ſet that day down as *loſt*, wherein no action afforded him a particular ſatisfaction, ſo as to denote it *good*. What a golden rule is this! how agreeable to chriſtian philoſophy! how worthy of a prince! how much within the power of every private man, and particularly of a *pariſh officer!*

Such a day's work as the General's, which I have juſt mentioned, cannot be ſuppoſed to happen often; but the welfare of mankind lies open to every man, every day, and every hour; and as a ſocial Being, every one is bound to take care of it. This ſhould be a ruling principle: the head and the heart are equally intereſted in it, and the moſt abject perſon is not without his object.

" *He lent to miſery—'twas all he had,*
" *A tear.*"——

This is prettily conceived in the poetical ſtrain, but not the leſs characteriſtical of human nature, unpolluted by perverted paſſions or pernicious cuſtoms.

Yours, &c.

The Application of the preceding Anecdotes to Pariſh Officers.

LETTER VII.

WE underſtand the value of ſubjects in a much ſuperior view to that of the ancient Romans. *Their* firſt object was conqueſt, and defence; ours commerce

merce and opulency, and the military power which grows out of theſe, where a natural martial genius is cheriſhed by liberty. Would the guardians of the Roman people in the meridian of their glory, when their being called citizens of Rome was prized ſo highly, have bartered away the blood of an infant for drachmas, and given a life for a roaſted pig, or a loin of beef? And ſhall *we* who live within the circle of the effulgent rays of the Sun of righteouſneſs, ſurrounded by all the glories of this world, and the hopes of a bliſsful immortality, leave even the paths of common ſenſe, and common humanity with regard to the lives of the children of the poor? Shall *we* neglect the only ſubjects which can be ſtrictly called the children of the public, and for whom the laws have made an ample public proviſion?

If office creates ſome degree of obduracy in the heart, and cuſtom reconciles us to the moſt abominable practices, the guilt lies in the *habit*, which renders the heart impenetrable. In the mean while, office has this good effect; it eſtabliſhes *order*, *form*, and knowledge of the moſt approved methods of proceeding.

If we apply theſe general remarks to the particular caſe of guardians of the poor, under every denomination, we ſhall find the poor's law defective in the inſtance of the ſhort time officers are in place; however this defect is generally ſupplied by the continuance of ſome of them, and the aſſiſtance of ſome of their ſervants. The great point is a hearty intention to *do good*. The pariſh officer is ſo much the inſtrument of the mercies of heaven, that every judicious ſmile, or admonition reſpecting

ſpecting the objects under his care, is pregnant with life; every indulgence of indolence, every corrupt or narrow view, or act of ill-applied parſimony, operates as a ſtab in the breaſt of the poor. If he will exerciſe himſelf with propriety in his function, the fault will reſt entirely on the pariſhioners if there is not all due reſpect and countenance ſhown him.

Beſides the grateful mark propoſed for the good pariſh officer when *out* of place, would it not be right to give ſome *mark of honorable diſtinction* to the officer, be he ever ſo poor a man, to wear *during the time of his actual ſervice?* It would probably be attended with ſome happy effects in regard to the reſpect which is due from his fellow-ſubjects in general, and particularly from the *poor* themſelves, over whom he is placed, and who are ſometimes very unruly.

On the other hand, to check any degree of arrogance that might ariſe in his heart, a ſmall book of inſtructions (*a*) ſhould be given him, deſcriptive of the rules of office, and explaining his duty both as a man and a chriſtian, as well as an officer, in the judicious, moral, and religious exerciſe of his authority.

If men of ability and leiſure, would direct the courſe of their ſtudies to things ſubſtantially *uſeful*, and adapt them to the circumſtances of times, perſons, and places, we might eaſily ſee judicious productions of this kind, which would be of infinite ſervice to the officer and to the poor. Thoſe pariſhes which have any thing peculiar to themſelves, might eaſily reduce it into a proper ſize,

(*a*) See Letter LIII. in Vol. I.

ſize, to bind with any ſuch general book as I have mentioned. This, among other things, the diſcipline and circumſtances of the affair requires; but may not for the ſame reaſon be found.

Whatever part a man undertakes, the applauſe of his own heart is of infinitely greater conſequence to him than gold medals, or *loud huzzas:* yet if theſe are conſidered as incentives to a *greater* attention to the eſſential ſervice of his country, their value may be aſcertained; and this conſideration only can give them weight, in gratifying the natural longings of the breaſt, to enjoy the pleaſure of beholding the happineſs of fellow-creatures.

If we cannot eat of five diſhes, let us be contented with one or two; but let not the ſecond or the third conſiſt of a ſlaughtered infant. Nor let us drink the blood of the poor, as if we were reduced, in a *literal ſenſe*, to feed on each other. The real phraſe in pariſhes, is *eating a child.* In this inſtance we have been in the *next degree* to the *anthropophagite.* If you gain a feaſt or pecuniary emolument by the death of a child, whoſe life you took no care to preſerve, ſo far you *eat* the child. Rather forego a hundred ſcenes of jollity, than offer up the life of a child to Ceres, Bacchus, or Venus. Remember that you are a chriſtian, and ſhould triumph in that appellation!

It is difficult to ſpeak of things of this kind in direct and literal terms. Negligence in moſt concerns of life puniſhes itſelf; here the tender objects of it can only leave their cauſe to heaven. Nor doth it appear in the

great view of national welfare, that we can cure the wound without probing it to the bottom.

Where the digeſtion is corrupted or impeded, food will not anſwer its true end. We who live in the ſeat of empire, and diffuſe nutrition to the limbs of the body politic, ſhould be cautious leſt the whole maſs be tainted by our folly or iniquity. Let us try if we can preſerve diſcipline where it exiſts, or recover it where it is loſt, and particularly in domeſtic life in the care of our children, and the regulation of our expences. Adverſity humbles; riches feed pride and preſumption. Remember that *moral prudence* is eſſential to *obedience* to divine as well as human laws; and that the moſt opulent are in more danger of tranſgreſſing ſuch laws than the moſt indigent.

Yours, &c.

The Advantages of a proper Education of the Poor.

LETTER VIII.

IF we have an important work to do, and but a little time to perform it in, let us the more ſpeedily and the more ſeriouſly examine, what taſk Heaven has aſſigned us; we ſhall then ſurely find that nothing can be of greater importance with reſpect to this world, than the preſervation of each others *lives*; and the lives of the poor are not leſs precious in the eye of human and divine laws, than the lives of the rich. Nay, we ſee the whole law and goſpel is compriſed in charity;

charity; this is recommended in ſuch terms as if we could ſcarcely be guilty of a groſs violation of any laws, ſo long as we truly conſider *our own nature*, as well as the poor and needy, to the care of whom ſuch choſen beatitudes are promiſed. But charity doth not terminate with the *body*. The man is compounded of body and ſoul; therefore if you regard the body only, and make no proviſion for happineſs after death, when it is in your power, it is either a proof that you do not believe that there will be any exiſtence after death; or that you act an abſurd and inconſiſtent part.

The ſouls of the poor are precious in the ſight of God. They, like the rich, depend on ſociety for the means of knowledge. It is neceſſary therefore they ſhould be taught what God requires of them. What this is we all know, and we ſee how deficient they are in their duty. Now if the knowledge and the power which the rich poſſeſs, are not employed in the ſervice of the poor, on what are theſe to depend? and in whoſe ſervice *are* the rich to be employed?

It is obvious, beyond the reach of a doubt, that there ever will be objects for the exerciſe of the nobleſt properties of the ſoul of man; and the *ſoul* is his nobleſt object. If we mean to ſucceed, we muſt begin early with thoſe who depend on us, and the degree of this dependance will be eſtimated by the talents committed to us. We may conſider the human mind, with regard to the things which relate to a future ſtate, in the ſame point of view (tho' the object is changed) as the buſineſs of the world, whereby men are to get their

daily bread by labor; and conſequently where there are no parents, or none that do their duty to their children; or where parents themſelves are totally ignorant, others muſt perform the office, whether it be by means of public hoſpitals, or in private domeſtic life.

It is an approved maxim, that the children of the poor ſhould be familiarized to the objects whereby they may moſt probably get their bread by labor; and the earlier they begin, the better, provided their ſtrength and growth are not injured. In this reſpect I conſider the human ſpecies as I do other animals which we breed up for uſe.

Hoſpitals or houſes of induſtry being neceſſary to inſtruction, are eligible, when neceſſity requires them.

If there is a God!—If the ſoul is immortal; if there is a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments after death; if we believe in our *hearts* theſe great articles of the *chriſtian creed*, which we pronounce with our *tongues*, we certainly are bound, by all the ties of duty to the Father of mankind, to provide the means of inſtructing *his* children, *our* fellow-creatures. If they are our fellow ſubjects, they grow nearer to our *hearts*; if they are the *poor*, they are placed immediately under our *protection*; and having the commands of heaven on their ſide, if we ſlight or neglect them, we rebel againſt the divine authority.

Nothing ſurely can be more obvious than that we ought to conſider the practice of morality as the baſis of religion; and religion the main prop of government; and to keep the mind as untainted as poſſible, be it done

done in hoſpitals or any other place, is an object of the greateſt moment. The genuine early *practice* of *moral* duties is the moſt effectual means of training up a child to a due ſenſe of *civilization* as well as religion; and this, in its proper extent and influence, muſt be taught in the world; it cannot be learnt in any other way. Good and evil are ſo blended together, that the means of acquiring the one, expoſe us to the other, and this operates nearly equal *for* and *againſt* hoſpital education; yet I believe we ſhall find the world, bad as it is, the beſt ſchool for thoſe who are to act a part in it. What we learn before ten or twelve, is of leſs moment to us than what we ſee and underſtand from 12 to 18. It is this which will form the mind to a habit of virtue, guard us againſt temptations, or teach us to overcome them, when they attack us.

If a child cannot be placed out, as being too young, and inſtruction can be moſt conveniently provided in an hoſpital, what is to be done? Let us not make difficulties where there are none; nor the world worſe than it really is. Piety, ſenſe, and candor, joined to *experience*, can ſurely accompliſh every thing that God requires of men.

I am permanently of opinion, upon the general view of this claſs of mankind, that all children ſhould be taught to *read*, as they conſtantly are in hoſpitals, were it only that they may be able to read ſome parts of the *New Teſtament*, and the Common Prayer Book, the *orders* of their *maſter* and the requeſt of their *friends*. More knowledge of books than this may not be neceſſary; but if they occaſionally amuſe themſelves with the peruſal of deſcriptions

ſcriptions of incidents in real life ; if theſe ſhould ſometimes draw a tear, the reader will not be the leſs inclined to obedience to his rulers, or any other ſocial duties, nor the leſs diſpoſed to receive the great truths of his religion. His heart will not be the leſs ſuſceptible of impreſſions of contrition, nor will he leſs lament that he is, as he often declares himſelf to be, *a miſerable ſinner !*

As to *writing*, if one in twenty acquires this part of learning, it may anſwer for the other nineteen. Among the *poor foundlings*, I do not know of one of them taught to write, in the hoſpital, except by accident, or that a *boy* is forward and impatient to learn ; though it is certain that many of them go to employments where writing is neceſſary, and muſt be taught by the maſters. All of them, of both ſexes, are taught to *read*, and I hope to underſtand what is ſufficient to keep them in the fear of God. They will certainly ſtand in need of ſo much knowledge.

I am not unacquainted with the full force of the arguments which are urged again the children of the poor being generally taught to read, which I apprehend to be one of the principal reaſons againſt hoſpital education, as if it were rather hurtful than beneficial to the community, on this very account. I will therefore give you my reaſons more fully, why we ought to adhere ſtrictly to a conſtant rule of providing ſuch children with this degree of inſtruction.

In countries ruled without law, or by ſuch indigeſted laws as violate the very rights of human nature, igno-

rance of all books ſeems to be neceſſary to government. I believe none of the oriental nations have yet introduced *printing*, which we eſteem the paladium of our liberty. At the ſame time it is evident that groſs ignorance is the cauſe of anarchy, and that anarchy, in the iſſue of things, muſt bring on the ſubverſion of a ſtate. Many notions have gone abroad as if we hurt ourſelves by indulging the common people in *learning*, when all that is meant is that they ſhould be able to *read*.

In England, and ſtill more in Scotland, it will be found that the common people are in general ſo much the better ſubjects, as they know the value of their religion, laws and liberty; becauſe theſe are in their nature intrinſically valuable. If they ſee ſuch laws, in the ſame view as the ſwine may ſee a jewel in his ſnout, they will certainly deſtroy them. Their knowledge derived from reading, were it only of the New Teſtament, as I have mentioned, will render them leſs ferocious and leſs inclined to violence.

A forger who has learned too much ingenuity, is an enemy to ſociety, and muſt ſuffer death; but ſurely a murderer who became ſuch partly through groſs ignorance, even that he could not read, is a more atrocious enemy to the community, and dies (as expreſſed by an obſolete law) without benefit of clergy.

Liberty, joined with ſuch ignorance, creates impatience of control; and this is but another name for diſobedience to laws, whether human or divine. And a *free* ſtate may be more eaſily undone by a blind, immoral, or enthuſiaſtic ferocity of manners, than by any other means.

means. We need not go far off, nor farther back than twenty years, for a verification of this principle. What but ignorance and ferocity in ſome, and deſperate fortunes or blind prejudices in others, led ſo many thouſands of unhappy men to an untimely grave? And will not the knowledge of their own advantages in the ſecurity of property and the enjoyment of liberty, unſhackled from the petty tyranny which was embowelled in this free ſtate, now render that claſs of our fellow-ſubjects a loyal and valuable people?

Liberty, founded in reaſon, and the eternal laws of equity, requires a conſciouſneſs of its own advantages in the breaſt of its ſubjects; otherwiſe the part of freedom which is ſo apt to corrupt, and which men moſt greedily imbibe, not being tempered with knowledge ſufficient to qualify it, intoxicates the man, and makes it counteract itſelf. This we have often ſeen on occaſion of riots, and the madneſs of a mob. If reaſon is left undiſciplined and unenlightened, with regard to ſocial ties and religious obligations, it will grow perverſe, and loſe its properties in the mind of the tranſgreſſor.

If *all* the children of the poor were taught to read, *none* could pretend to the leaſt ſuperiority, conſequently no one would be, on that account, the worſe qualified for the laborious offices of life. I ſaw a plain proof of this in the perſons of ſeveral hundreds of young North Britons ſent to ſea in the King's ſervice in the laſt war. Every one of *them* could read, and ſay his prayers. Every one was tight and clean; and no one, that I remember, was inclined to the diabolical practice of profane ſwearing

ing and lying. They were the dregs of mankind, as to poverty, but there ſeemed to be a purity of manners which could ariſe from nothing but education: they were not come to an age of any hypocritical ſanctity. Upon enquiry, I found they had all been diſciplined ſo far, that they were queſtioned and inſtructed, at certain periodical viſitations, by their clergy.

With grief I beheld numbers of our *Engliſh* boys of the ſame claſs, dauntleſs, indeed, and ſo far proper for ſeamen, and no doubt capable of as good impreſſions as their companions of North Briton; but, for want of inſtruction, ſhamefully deficient in the qualities above-mentioned. A young perſon of any condition, who can with a ſteady countenance maintain a falſehood, muſt be reaſoned, or beaten, or ſtarved out of it, or conſidered as growing up to a maturity of wickedneſs. Yet how is this to be avoided without learning the turpitude of a lie?

The teaching a religious deportment, and the fear of ſomething beſides the gallows, cannot be more eſſential to the worldly happineſs of the individual, than it is to the well being of the ſtate. The catechiſm in general is our grand engine of inſtruction, and it certainly helps the *memory* of children. But that part of it which contains the *commandments* of God, being the moſt intelligible to them, ſhould be conſidered as the firſt, and moſt important leſſon, and as moſt applicable to common life and moral duty.

As to the ſcriptures, the reading of ſuch paſſages only as are adapted to the growing powers of the mind, and

not over-whelming a child with a quantity of words to which his capacity is by no means equal, this is clearly pointed out to us by common ſenſe, which never will ſubmit to cuſtom, whilſt it maintains its empire in the head or heart of man.

Yours, &c.

The Duty of Prayer to young Perſons as Apprentices, and others on the Foundation of this Plan of Education, and as eſſential to the Education of the lower Claſſes of the People in general.

LETTER IX.

IT muſt be obvious to men of the leaſt obſervation, that the radical cauſe of the iniquity which abounds in the world is, that men's minds are not impreſt with a lively ſenſe of the being of a God; and one of the moſt ſubſtantial reaſons why they are not, is that they are not taught *how* to addreſs him. It being a condition that the maſter or miſtreſs ſhall be entitled to 40 s. part of the apprentice fee, upon the apprentice repeating without book a ſhort morning and evening prayer, the Belief, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, as I ſhall relate to you, proper prayers ſhould be preſented them. Is it an indignity offered our young fellow-ſubjects to ſuppoſe that many of them go into the world without this degree of knowledge; and that with thoſe who have the words, very little if any pains is taken to impreſs the ſenſe of ſuch words on their minds? I am ſorry to ſay, I know it to be true in regard to great numbers. It will afford you ſatisfaction to be informed what kind of

prayers are uſed by the children at the hoſpital at Lamb's Conduit Fields, which we now call the Orphan Hoſpital, and alſo the chief parts of thoſe which are uſed at the ancient and reſpectable inſtitution of Chriſt's Hoſpital. Lofty figures, ſublime ideas, and confeſſions of grievous ſins, ſeem to be equally improper for children; but cuſtom rules us even in our addreſſes to heaven. In the days of fanaticiſm many expreſſions crept into our books which in theſe times are expunged.

Where the ability of a young perſon extends ſo far, and ſurely there are numbers of the poor neither want ſenſe nor memory, when properly called forth, it is very eſſential to their happineſs to give them juſt ideas of chaſtity and fidelity, with juſt impreſſions of their condition as to the mortality of the body and the immortality of the ſoul. If they can acquire this knowledge by only reading ſhort addreſſes to the great Parent of mankind, it will be happy for them in life and death, and in the day of judgment.

From the nature of our condition as men, nothing can open our minds more to a ſenſe of virtue, and a proper eſtimation of a tranſitory world, than the thought of *death*, and its concomitants, *judgment*, *heaven*, or *hell*. But as if we imagined the young perſon would grow melancholy, if we applied it cloſely to his mind; we paſs this matter over in as tranſient a manner, as if he really had very little or no intereſt in it. The *rich* are apt to refine away the moſt ſolemn conſiderations, and the *poor* treat them with indifference. We crowd to a *rareſhow*, but who attends, or ſends young perſons to at-

tend, *the end of this world*, and the *commencement* of *eternity*. We have an admirable prayer when we commit our *duſt to duſt*; but I queſtion if *one* young perſon, in *five hundred*, knows there is ſuch a thing. Why are *they* not taught *what life is?* With a little change of words it may be adapted to common uſe (*a*), and rendered as *familiar* as it is important. Would a young perſon, with the natural frame of mind, which the indulgent author of nature hath given us, grow *melancholy* with the thought, that he might die at *thirteen*, when he ſees his maſter alive at *three-ſcore?* Would he not rather learn to poſſeſs his ſoul in peace, from the conſideration, that if he *ſhould die* he ſhall be happy.

Nothing is ſo eſſential to the life of man, as commerce with his maker. In theory, this is never denied; but in practice, it is amazing to conſider, how few learn to addreſs

(*a*) ALmighty God, and parent of mankind, I beſeech thee of thy infinite mercy and goodneſs, to enable me to conſider, that man who is born of a woman hath but a ſhort time to live; that he cometh up and is cut down like a flower; that he fleeth as it were a ſhadow, never continuing in one ſtay. Teach me, O Father of mercy, to conſider, that in the midſt of life I am in death; and of whom can I ſeek for ſuccour, but of thee, O Lord, though for my ſins thou art juſtly diſpleaſed.—Yet, O God moſt holy, O Lord moſt mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, deliver me not into the bitter pains of eternal death.—Thou knoweſt, Lord, the ſecrets of my heart; ſhut not thy merciful ears to my prayers; nor thou, O bleſſed Redeemer, and judge of quick and dead, ſuffer me not at my laſt hour, for any pains of death, to *fall from thee*. Teach me, O God, in all conditions and extremities, to rejoice in the comfort of thy holy word, and to do my duty whilſt I live, in ſteady hope of a reſurrection to immortal happineſs, thro' the merits and mediation of the ſame Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer of the world.

addreſs him with awe, and propriety of expreſſion. The *rich* are not taught it at any public ſchool; they are not taught *any reliſh* of devotion, but rather by an injudicious intruſion of too much external piety, and attendance at church, we make young lords and gentlemen ſick of devotion before they leave ſchool. *When* it is that they are *reſtored* to a vigorous ſenſe of this duty, the great ſearcher of hearts can only tell!

The preſent buſineſs is to take the *poor* under our patronage. So far as any ſuggeſtion of this kind may avail, I would conſider, not only the means of teaching them in the firſt inſtance, but how they may *retain* their inſtruction to the end of life. *Acquaintance with God*, is no viſionary expreſſion: So far as *adoration*, *gratitude*, and *obedience*, differ from *a cold careleſſneſs*, *ingratitude*, and *diſobedience*, we are all deeply intereſted firſt to learn, and then to teach the poor what belongs to their peace, before it is hid from our eyes for ever.

Their prayers ſhould be ſhort, plain, and ſimple. Some forms in uſe, are too diffuſe, too figurative in expreſſion, or involved in ſenſe, and upon the whole, unfit for children. To adapt prayers to their capacity, we ſhould give them not only force of expreſſion, but ſimplicity, and tenderneſs of ſentiment, as addreſſes to the *Father* of mankind; dignity and awe, as to the *maker* of heaven and earth (*a*).

The

(*a*) *A* MORNING PRAYER *uſed by the Children of the Orphan Hoſpital.*

O Lord God Almighty, who haſt made me, and all the world, I humbly thank thee for thy care of me in the night paſt. Continue thy favor and compaſſion to me: keep me this day from all harm,

The prayers at Chriſt's Hoſpital are ſuppoſed to be for elder children than the *foundlings*, and the moſt part

harm, and help my endevors to behave myſelf humbly, ſoberly, and godly, that I may always pleaſe thee in thought, word, and deed.

O merciful Father, make me to remember, that it is by thy gracious providence I am clothed and fed, and my life preſerved. Teach me to be always contented, and pray for thoſe who have acted as parents to me. Give me an awful reverence of thy majeſty; and make me tremble and afraid of offending thee, by any falſhood, fraud, or uncleanneſs: any unjuſt or uncharitable action; that I may be happy in the enjoyment of a good conſcience; and never fall into that dreadful and everlaſting puniſhment, which waits on impenitent ſinners.

This I beg, O Lord, in the name of my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Another, chiefly extracted from the Liturgy.

O God, my Father, and Lord of heaven, who haſt ſafely brought me to the beginning of this day; defend me in the ſame with thy almighty power, and grant that I fall not into any ſin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all my thoughts and words may be ordered by thy governance, and that I may do all things acceptable in thy ſight. This I beg, O merciful and tender Father, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt, our Redeemer. *Amen.*

For any Time, uſed at the Orphan Hoſpital.

O Merciful Lord and tender Father, I moſt humbly beſeech thee to give me thy aſſiſtance, that I may conſtantly ſtudy, and earneſtly endevor to ſerve thee in all things with a ſincere and willing mind.

Grant that I may be moſt truly thankful and dutiful to my benefactors, maſters, and teachers; harmleſs and kind to all others; that by thy grace I may always govern myſelf with patience and meekneſs, as taught by my bleſſed Redeemer in his holy goſpel.—And when I die, O let me enjoy that happineſs in the life to come, which thou haſt promiſed to thoſe who are good, and ſerve thee with a true heart.

This I beg, O merciful Father, for the ſake of thy beloved Son, my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who hath commanded me, when I pray, to ſay, *Our Father*, &c.

part of their compoſitions ſeem to be extremely good (*b*).

Here

An EVENING PRAYER *at the Orphan Hoſpital.*

O God, my Almighty Creator and Preſerver, accept my humbleſt thanks for thy protection, and all the bleſſings I have received this day paſt. Forgive all the ſins which I have committed againſt thee this day, and make me afraid and aſhamed to do any thing that is wrong. Let me conſtantly remember, that thou art preſent every where, both day and night, and that all my thoughts, all my words, and actions, are open to thy view.

I now lie down to reſt, O merciful and tender Father, in humble confidence that thy goodneſs will keep me in ſafety; that I may ariſe refreſhed with ſleep, in health, and ſtrength, of body and mind; and when this preſent life is ended in death, O Lord, receive my ſoul into that happy ſtate, which thou haſt prepared for thy obedient children.

This I beg, through Jeſus Chriſt my Redeemer, who died upon the croſs, that through my obedience to thy laws, I may be redeemed from my ſins. *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

(*b*) MORNING PRAYER *at Chriſt's Hoſpital.*

O God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, who of thy merciful goodneſs haſt brought us to the beginning of this day: we thine unworthy children beg the continuance of thy mercies towards us: and that pardoning our offences, and continuing to be good unto us, thou wouldeſt diſpoſe us to a ſtrict obedience to thy commandments, through Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord and only Redeemer. *Amen.*

REmember not, Lord, the ſins of our youth, nor the follies of our childhood: but conſider whereof we are made, and from what we are fallen by the tranſgreſſion of our firſt parents, and be merciful unto us. O teach us betimes to number our days, that we may apply our hearts early unto wiſdom, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. *Amen.*

EVENING PRAYERS *at Chriſt's Hoſpital.*

O Father of mercies, look upon us of thy great goodneſs. We have ſinned againſt thee, and are not worthy to be called thy children. The wantonneſs and folly of our youth, the frailty and ſtub-

Here I muſt obſerve, that prayers which may with propriety be uſed through life, are ſo far the beſt to learn in childhood, if, as I fear, (though it is a bold thought) the bulk of mankind do not often learn any form of words after they grow up, except thoſe who remember the Liturgy; and very few are qualified to pray without form, with an intenſe devotion.

The primitive Chriſtians uſed to pray at *noon*, as well as in the morning, and at night. The Mahommedans pray at noon; and ſo do the pious Jews. And I have obſerved ſome of the papiſts in Portugal do the ſame. There is a prayer at *Chriſt's Hoſpital* for *noon* (*c*). Thoſe for the Royal Family, and their founders, with the ſmall change (*d*) I have made, might do for any charitable inſtitution.

The

ſtubborneſs of our depraved nature have made us err: O forgive us our ſins: refreſh our drooping ſpirits; and grant us thy grace ſo to walk before thee for the future, that we may bring fruit meet for repentance, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

(*c*) O Father of light, ſhine upon us with the fulneſs of thy grace. Do away our offences, cloath us with humility, and fill us with thy Holy Spirit, that we may be enabled to do ſuch good works, as thou haſt ordained us to walk in. Look down in compaſſion upon thy poor children. Protect our tender age from the violence of temptation; ſtrengthen us by thy almighty power; and as we grow in years, ſo make us grow in grace, through Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

(*d*) PRotect, we beſeech thee, with thy heavenly bleſſing, Chriſt's holy church, particularly this portion of it in which we live: Guide, ſtrengthen, and protect it. Bleſs our Sovereign Lord King GEORGE, and all the Royal Family, and all that are in authority under him. Bleſs this city, and every member of it, particularly this Foundation, with all that ſerve in it, or do good unto it. And this we beg for Chriſt his ſake. *Amen.*

We

The evening prayers in both hoſpitals, in the ſeveral wards at night, going to bed, are highly commendable; but that in Chriſt's Hoſpital of ſuperior dignity, and may ſerve the children, as it ſtands altered in a few words, when grown up to manhood (*a*).

As to the manner in which children in general are *taught*, or rather *permitted* to *read* prayers, not to pray, it is

We praiſe thee for our Founders and Benefactors, and for the comfort thou haſt afforded us by their means, both to ſoul and body: bleſs, and greatly increaſe their ſubſtance who have ſatisfied the poor with bread; let their families be proſperous upon earth, and a ſure and full reward be given them of the Lord at the reſurrection of the juſt. Grant that we, with thankful hearts for all thy mercies, may chearfully do thy will, through Jeſus Chriſt, who liveth and reigneth with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, world without end. *Amen.*

(*a*) LORD, let the reſt we are going to, mind us of the hour of death: and now that we are going to lie down, let us conſider, that it may be, we ſhall riſe up no more. We do earneſtly repent us of our ſins, and are heartily ſorry for our miſdoings; and we beſeech thee, give us grace ſo to be ſenſible of all our errors for the time to come, that the remembrance of them, may be a warning to us, to continue ſtedfaſt in our obedience, and ever to walk in newneſs of life, to the glory of thy holy name, through Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

All honor and praiſe be given to thee, O Lord God Almighty, for the life thou haſt raiſed us to by thy free grace, and for the hopes of glory: for the free courſe of thy goſpel among us, and for the miniſters of thy holy word and ſacraments. Give us grace, we pray thee, ſo to apply theſe means which thou haſt afforded us, that they may become ſalvation to us, through our bleſſed Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Preſerve us, O merciful God, from all the dangers of the night. Give us quiet and compoſed thoughts, and ſuch reſt in thee, that we may ſleep under the covering of thy wings, and awake in thy favor, through him who liveth and reigneth with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, world without end. *Amen.*

is of all things in the world the moſt *abſurd*. The ſame may be ſaid of their *ſcreaming*, when it is meant they ſhould *ſing* with ſolemn devotion, and true meaſure. They are both a mere burleſque. A very little pains, and patience, might remedy theſe abuſes. The abſurdity of being thus trifling in religious duties, is ſo ſhameful as to admit of no excuſe.

As for the grace before meat, at Chriſt's Hoſpital (*b*), it is a good one, yet I wiſh in general to remind the world of the duty of charity as in the form (*c*). The grace after meat is alſo worthy of imitation (*d*).

If a collection were made of all the forms, regulations, and domeſtic oeconomy, of our numerous charities in the kingdom, every one might extract the ſweets of ſuch a labor. It ſeems to be a work worthy of any man of ſenſe, piety, and leiſure. Whether he be a deep theologiſt or not, is not material.

To prepare againſt temptation, it might be proper they ſhould

(*b*) GIVE us thankful hearts, O Lord God, for the table which thou haſt ſpread for us. Bleſs thy good creatures to our uſe, and us to thy ſervice, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. *Amen.*

(*c*) O GOD, our Father, we beſeech thee, to ſupply the wants of all our fellow-creatures, and inſpire our hearts with gratitude and love, for this and all thy mercies to us, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. *Amen.*

(*d*) BLeſſed Lord, we yield thee hearty praiſe and thankſgiving for our Founders and Benefactors, by whoſe charitable benevolence thou haſt refreſhed our bodies at this time. So ſeaſon and refreſh our ſouls with thy heavenly Spirit, that we may live to thy honor and glory. Protect thy church, the King, and all the Royal Family. And preſerve us in peace and truth, through Chriſt our Saviour. *Amen.*

ſhould read, if not learn by heart, a prayer on *chaſtity* (*e*), and another on *fidelity in ſervice* (*f*).

The

(*e*) *For* CHASTITY.

O Lord of heaven! have mercy on thy ſinful creature, who offereth up his prayers unto thee. Let not luſt pervert my heart, nor any temptation turn mine eyes from heaven. Purify my affections, and eſtabliſh a right ſpirit within me, that my body may be a fit habitation for my immortal ſoul.—Guard every avenue to my heart, and give me ſtrength to drive all wicked thoughts from me, that *religion* may become my *delight*, and *obedience* to thy laws my *comfort*. Send me thy helping grace, O merciful God, for the ſake of the ſpotleſs ſoul of thy beloved Son, that no bad example may ſhake my purpoſe, no wiles of ſatan enſnare, no fooliſh fancy delude me into ſin. Aſſiſt me with thy good Spirit, O God, and ſo guide my ſteps, and arm me with reſolution, that by perſevering unto the end, I may triumph over death and the grave. This I beg, O merciful God, through the mediation of thy dear Son, who died to redeem the world! *Amen.*

(*f*) *For Fidelity in Servitude.*

O *LORD, the righteous judge of men*, let thy *fear* be always before mine eyes, that I may *faithfully* diſcharge my duty, nor ever fall under *thy* diſpleaſure. Let neither indolence nor falſhood betray my ſoul; but make me zealous in my *maſter*'s ſervice (*a*), that my conduct towards him may expreſs my *gratitude*, for all the *mercies*, which *Thou* haſt vouchſafed unto me. *Thy* all-piercing eye, *O Lord*, can ſee my inmoſt thoughts and minuteſt actions! Let my *love* and *honor*, my *fidelity* and *reſpect* for my maſter, be apparent in *his* ſight, that I may delight in promoting *his* proſperity: and let our united endevors advance *thy* glory, and the *happineſs* of mankind. Give him (*b*), *O Lord*, a juſt ſenſe of his eternal obligations to *juſtice*, *piety*, and *temperance*, and every other virtue, that no part of his conduct may diſturb the repoſe of my ſoul, but render my ſincerity towards him the more acceptable to *thee*. This I beg, O merciful Father, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, who died upon the croſs for me a miſerable ſinner. *Amen.*

(*a*) or miſtreſs's ſervice. (*b*) or her.

The making long prayers, or the uſual manner in which children are taught to pray; can *this* convey any idea effectual to the end in view? We generally think it judicious to avoid diſcourſing with young perſons on ſubjects which they cannot be ſuppoſed to comprehend: on the ſame principle ſhould we not be very careful, in regard to *prayer*, not to give them a habit of repeating words, and addreſſing thoſe words to their Maker which, whether ſimple or not, they are not called upon to attend to, nor queſtioned if they underſtand? Is not this, in effect, teaching them a habit of offering an *inanimate ſacrifice* to the Almighty, or in other words, being *irreligious?* There ſeems to be ſomething ſo defective in this point, as to merit great conſideration, and calls for great correction.

As the light of reaſon dawns forth, the mind ſhould be aſſiſted. The idea of the exiſtence of an inviſible Being to whom we are ſome how, and ſhall be ſomewhere accountable, comes very early. To cheriſh and improve this apprehenſion, whilſt the mind is in an infant, unpolluted ſtate, ſeems to be an eſſential duty. For if we are not early habituated in our addreſſes to that Being, to think of him with great awe and reverence, we are in effect taught to approach him irreverently; and, accordingly, we often find leſs awe and religious fear prevailing before him, than before a natural parent.

The moſt familiar means to remedy this evil ſeem to be occaſional comments on the meaning of the words of the prayers, and leſſons to be given immediately before kneeling

kneeling down. To ſuppoſe the heart of a young perſon incapable of any impreſſion, renders prayer itſelf abſurd to them. Solemn ſilence as a prelude to devotion; a happy tone of voice; fewneſs and ſimplicity of words; aweful pauſes, and proper accents: theſe are expedients which, at a certain age, according to the dawnings of reaſon and the power of imitation, can hardly ever fail of the end in view. If queſtions were aſked in a familiar manner, ſo as not to diſtreſs the mind but imprint ideas on the heart, as well as words on the *memory*, the end would generally be anſwered, though by ſlow degrees. In the mean while ſome children would ſoon learn, and be able to teach others. The ſame methods which would anſwer for the *poor*, will ſerve equally for the *rich*; and this kind of charity ſeems to be as much wanted for the one as the other.

If prayer in families were in uſe, as in days of leſs wealth and leſs diſſipation, every maſter would employ his talent under his own roof, and by learning to pray, teach his domeſtics: and from being taught how to expreſs their thoughts, they might learn how to think, without danger of degenerating into religious frenzy or hypocritical ſanctity.

There is a cuſtom which is ſtill preſerved among great numbers of people of ſaying what they call *Grace*, before and after meals. By this I preſume is meant, for it cannot be devoid of a *meaning*, a ſhort prayer of thankſgiving; and be it ever ſo ſhort, it is a remembrance, and of admirable uſe to keep on the mind a ſenſe of religion. Some chriſtians ſtand round the table in an

awful

awful manner and pray to themſelves, as I have obſerved among the Germans: ſome make a long and formal prayer: ſome ſay nothing, and do nothing: and greater numbers utter a few words in ſo curſory, unmeaning and inanimate a manner, that it would be a ſhame to ſpeak in ſuch a tone to any ſuperior in common life. In ſpite of cuſtom, this muſt be ſhocking to thoſe who have any awe of the Deity on their minds. They intend to teach their children, that they believe in a Supreme Being, and offer up this prayer to *him*; or they mean to leave it doubtful what the deſign of theſe words is.

When we ſee common ſenſe diſplayed in theſe important articles, we may hope for more happy times. Can the poor man or the rich be accepted before God, when he doth not ſpeak as if he deſired or deſerved to be heard, or meant or intended to *worſhip* him? Can he adore his Maker, when he doth not allow himſelf time to collect his thoughts to know what he is about? And how can he teach his children what he has not learnt himſelf? The trifling injudicious manner in which this duty is performed in hoſpitals, is no leſs painful to a conſiderate mind.

Yours, &c.

The imperfect Manner in which the Poor are uſually initiated into a Knowledge of Religion.

LETTER X.

CHILDREN are often taught, by I know not what kind of policy, to fear creatures of invention; it is plain they are ſuſceptible of *fear* of what they *do*

not ſee, and may therefore be made to comprehend the Omnipreſence of the Deity, and that he is a merciful and tender Father, who, like their natural parents, will chaſtiſe them for their good, if they deſerve puniſhment.

In the ſame manner the *law of Chriſt* informs us, what we *may*, and what we *may not* do. Were we to apply to the mind of a child, the incidents of life, good or evil, as they ariſe, and *ſhow* him how they agree with, or contradict that law, the idea of *law*, as given by *God*, might be enforced as the idea of *law* given by *men*; for the breach of which, they will be puniſhed. Were they alſo taught how naturally theſe operate on each other, the one for temporal felicity and the other for *everlaſting happineſs* after death; I ſee no difficulty in making an impreſſion on a mind yet unprepoſſeſſed.

We do not begin early to teach children an awful carriage as before an Almighty though Inviſible Being. To impreſs the tender mind, that every thing we ſee was made by God; were we to bid him often obſerve the beauties of nature on the ſurface of the earth, and the glorious luminaries of the heavens, as the works of his creation, the child might be eaſily led to form high ideas of the greatneſs of the power and mercy of God. But according to the beſt of my obſervation, when we ſpeak of things belonging to religion, it is generally in a vague, deſultory manner: how can we thus expect a child ſhould learn his duty to his God or his neighbor?

A journeyman ſhoemaker muſt be able to make a ſhoe, or he will not be paid: but there is no examination

nation of a ſchool-maſter, as ſuch, whether he has any *laſt* for forming the human mind. There is no rule preſcribed to him, but what he takes up by accident; nor is it much enquired after, whether he is a man of virtue and underſtanding, or what methods he takes to give young perſons impreſſions of religion, provided they learn French or Latin, and Greek? Many are not paid in any degree ſuitable to the importance of the office when they are qualified; and in general there is no particular countenance ſhewn to men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities, who might be induced to exert them in that way, for the public good. If there is great negligence in the moral and religious education of the *rich*, we muſt not be ſurprized at what happens to the *poor*. Whether the evil will be rectified in Univerſities, in charitable inſtitutions, or private families, muſt be left to time.

That there is matter to work upon for much higher things than we ſee, is beyond all diſpute. The human mind has a natural propenſity to religion, tho' our ſenſes ſo often oppoſe it; and it is owing to a neglect of teaching, and to the bad impreſſions originally contracted among the vulgar, that there is ſo much debauchery, drunkenneſs, profane ſwearing, habitual lying, deceit and fraud. And is it not from the ſame cauſe that the higher claſſes of men ſo often treat the name of God with as little awe and reverential fear as is found amongſt the meaneſt of mankind: and yet we have very good authority for the fear of God being the *beginning*

ginning of *wiſdom*; if we wiſh our children to be wiſe, we ſhould teach them this fear.

If we mean to tranſmit down to them a glorious plan of liberty, and rational government in church and ſtate, we ſhould do this; for if *they* do not fear *God*, they will not fear *man*; and their rulers in common with other fellow ſubjects will be indifferent to them: they will treat them all with contempt and deriſion, as ſuits their humor; and if at length a total anarchy enſues, farewell to liberty.

The ordinary produce of a mind totally uncultivated in this reſpect, among *rich* or *poor*, is infidelity with regard to a ſubſtantial truſt in the promiſes of God, or the fear of his threatnings: it is diſtruſt in relation to his Providence; indolence and irreſolution in *religion*, diſſoluteneſs in *manners*; and in general a practice rather ſuited to the ſuppoſition, that there is *no God*, and that the ſoul is *material*, than a firm belief in the great truths of chriſtianity.

From what other root doth it ſpring, that ſo great a part of the chriſtian world act rather as if the ſoul is not immortal, than with a religious habit of mind, and a conſtant fear and love of God? If from him alone we can expect any happineſs after death; if death is certain, and the daily inſtances of it are the objects of *ſenſe*; if the immortality of the ſoul is no leſs certain to the *moral perception*, ſupported by *revelation*; the leaſt that *one* part of mankind can do is to take care the *other* be well acquainted what ſuch revelation conſiſts in, and kept in conſtant remembrance of what the common exerciſe of reaſon

requires. We might then hope that a habit of religious rectitude, free from all ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, would do more honor to human nature, with regard to its natural hopes and fears, than all the exertion of the powers of the human ſoul in other reſpects, can poſſibly do, in the firſt and greateſt of mankind.

If the contempt of death naturally ſprings from the energy of the hopes which men entertain, conſidering them as chriſtians, from what they read in the *New Teſtament:* if nothing leſs than this contempt can fix life on its proper baſis, and afford conſolation to the heart: if the poor and rich have a common title to this conſolation, and are equally intereſted in the privilege of being informed; the poor are, in effect, as much upon a level with the rich, as the laity with the clergy. Eccleſiaſtical tyranny in the Romiſh church makes it otherwiſe; for the more ignorant her people are, the more conſiſtent with the maxims ſhe adopts.

We are apt to conſider riches and poverty as happineſs and miſery; but with regard to a future ſtate, they ſeem to operate in the ſame manner. They both create diſſipation of thought and temptation to iniquity. Whether it is moſt reaſonable to expect to find profound chriſtian philoſophers among the rich or poor, I know not. If the methods ordinarily purſued with either are not calculated to produce ſuch a turn of mind, or conſiſtency of conduct as conſtitutes a real chriſtian, we muſt not be ſurprized at any thing that happens. If we are not *chriſtians*, we have no religion to be depended

on, and conſequently there is no ſecurity to the ſtate, as it depends on religion, as all ſtates neceſſarily muſt do.

If the name of chriſtian fills the heart of the poor man with gladneſs, in his hopes in the promiſes of Chriſt, and we mean to make every man obedient to the laws of his country, and as happy as he can be in his ſtation; let every *child of both ſexes read*, that they may be ſo much the better informed of that in which they are ſo nearly concerned. To decline teaching them is, in effect, to with-hold this knowledge; and to with-hold this knowledge ſeems to be a manifeſt violation of their *rights*, not only as members of a free ſtate, but as they are born in a *chriſtian* country.

Yours, &c.

Chriſtian Knowledge in a Chriſtian Country, eſſential to Civilization and Liberty.

LETTER XI.

SINCE it is obvious, that the happineſs of our country depends, in a great degree, on the civilization of the common people, and that this reſults from a due ſenſe of humanity and religion: ſince it is as apparent, that a proper and neceſſary knowledge of religion to rational Beings depends on inſtruction, as that a dog or a horſe may be more eaſily rendered tame and docile than a tyger or a lion: ſince thoſe who are moſt groſsly illiterate, are the moſt dangerouſly abandoned, or have the leaſt reliſh of the Scriptures, or books of

practical Chriſtianity: ſince the bare tranſient hearing the words of eternal life, can hardly make ſo deep an impreſſion as *hearing* and *reading* alſo, and that all which it is poſſible to do, as far as we know, is little enough; it follows, that from religious, as well as political motives, we are intereſted to ſee that the common people be taught to *read*, and likewiſe to offer up their prayers to the great Lord and Sovereign of the univerſe.

Neither the elevation nor depreſſion of a ſtate is ordinarily accompliſhed by ſudden changes or violent concuſſions, but in a gradual manner, and as the minds of the people are more or leſs inclined to virtue; therefore it behoves us to be watchful of the maxims we adopt in regard to the common people. We have been ſo buſy for half a century in acquiring worldly grandeur, that we have not thought much how it may be loſt again.

We make a great point of the freedom of the *preſs*, eſteeming it the palladium of liberty; and it may be ſo. I do not believe we have yet filled up the meaſure of our iniquities ſo far as to meditate the enſlaving one another; yet this ſame preſs abuſed, may operate in the ſame manner as no preſs at all. If we fall by the ambition of a few, or the folly and wickedneſs of many, it is but of little moment, *if* we do fall.—In the mean time, if liberty is to ſpring and take root, and be watered by learning, or the freedom of *writing*, and promulging what we pleaſe, how comes it that the ſons of freedom ſhould be averſe to the common people, who are the bulk of the nation, being taught to *read*. I do not mean that they ſhould read all the productions of the

the preſs, or perplex themſelves by a diverſity of political ſentiments. But being myſelf free on *principle*, I wiſh it were fully determined, as a criterion to judge of liberty,

1. Whether it is expedient and neceſſary, that *the common people in general be taught to read or not?*

2. Whether reading is one diſtinguiſhing mark of the common freedom we enjoy, and mean to preſerve?

3. Whether reading be neceſſary to render the people more happy in themſelves, more uſeful to others, leſs expoſed to temptation for want of ſome object to amuſe in hours of leiſure, and the worſe or the better chriſtians?

Theſe points are yet problematical.

Whether a greater or leſs number of the laboring poor are now taught to read, than in the days of religious phrenzy and fanaticiſm, I cannot pretend to ſay: we generally go from one extreme into the other; but chriſtianity never erected its banners on a more *rational* and *ſolid* baſis than at this time; I mean as to *theory*; but ſurely it is very *unreaſonable* to be luke-warm in *practice* in a matter of ſuch vaſt importance to both worlds, whether the people in general may inform themſelves in matters of their eternal intereſt.

I have obſerved upon enquiry, in ſeveral villages in England, that the people plead poverty in excuſe for not learning to read; and that where they are moſt ignorant, they are moſt poor and abject. And if neither the miniſter, landlord, or lord of the manor, nor other perſon of condition in the neighborhood, takes

any

any cognizance of this matter, when the buſineſs might be accompliſhed by one who has neither hands nor legs for other work, ſuch villages will remain in ignorance.

The queſtion then is, if ſome of their ſuperiors of the preſent generation may not, in a worldly view, live long enough to repent of this neglect, where it really is; and as to the duty they are bound to as chriſtians, who have hopes in another life, it may alſo become a ſubject of *repentance*, when it will avail but little. Life is not given to be trifled away.

In many public charitable inſtitutions, the governors or directors give their objects little tracts of practical divinity, taking it for granted they can read, and that they have been taught the rudiments of their religion; in which the donor is oftentimes moſt grievouſly miſtaken. The celebrated Dr. Synge Archbiſhop of Tuam his *Knowledge of Religion made eaſy to the meaneſt Capacity*, which is comprehended in thirty pages; and the ſame author's *Excuſes for not frequenting the holy Communion anſwered*, contained in fifty pages, both in twelves, are moſt excellent tracts, very portable and very cheap. But except the preſent good Archbiſhop of Canterbury's valuable preſents of ſome thouſand copies of this and ſuch other tracts to the poor, I have not had the good fortune to meet with any of them. This I know indeed, that ſeveral country gentlemen, upon reading theſe tracts, were aſtoniſhed at their being ſo little acquainted with ſuch books, and have provided many hundred copies for the uſe of their own dependants. And the Society for promoting chriſtian knowledge have theſe books in their catalogue.

The

The beautiful ſimplicity, the nervous ſenſe and apoſtolical purity of theſe little tracts, muſt ſtand confeſſed as long as reaſon and chriſtianity have any influence on our lives. I am perſuaded their merit is not ſufficiently known in charity-ſchools, pariſh or other workhouſes, or hoſpitals. I know of the diſperſion of 12 or 14,000, introduced into little books, intended, as the occaſion aroſe, for boys ſent to ſea, common ſoldiers, penitent proſtitutes, and ſuch like; and it is probable they have been of ſome uſe to ſome of the parties to whom they were given, or in ſome other hands; but ſuch efforts alone by no means reach the great end propoſed of a regular method of eſtabliſhing the religion of our country in the hearts of the common people, that we may ſee it in their lives and converſation.

It is unhappily paſt all contradiction, that many of the loweſt claſſes of our fellow ſubjects are extremely defective in their knowledge of their duty to *God*; and as a natural effect of this, equally ſo in regard to *man*, reſpecting the ſimplicity and humanity of their manners. From this cauſe great evils ſpring up among us, and greater ſtill will ſpring up. Not controlled by reaſon, not cultivated and rendered ſubſervient to ſelf-preſervation and the preſervation of property, as among the higher claſſes; and being, like the Hydra, a many-headed monſter, when once let looſe, the queſtion is, whether it be *neceſſary* to conſider of ſuch preventive meaſures as are calculated for *their* happineſs as well as our own; and to employ any means for this end not already in common and general uſe?

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Were it not that the poorer and worſt part of mankind have ſome hopes in a *future* ſtate, they would be more apt to forget the order of Providence with regard to the preſent life, and bring all things into confuſion: and it ſeems as probable to happen in a land of liberty, as in a country of ſlaves: for in the firſt caſe they are more *truſted*, and are more the guardians of their own freedom, and therefore ſubject to abuſe it, as in the laſt caſe they are more liable to be *provoked* to exceſs.

The *practical* belief and *mature* conſideration of the immortality of the ſoul, opens the human mind to a ſenſe of the ſpirit of chriſtianity, and creates a contempt of the world whenever it claſhes with the hope of happineſs after death. But it is equally true, that men born to fortunes, or providentially acquiring them, are generally anxious for *more* and *greater* acquiſitions, and conſequently ſpend their *time* in the purſuit of them, and forget the importance of the object which lies on the other ſide the grave. Thus in the eſteem of the philoſopher, as well as the chriſtian, the *poor* have oftentimes the advantage, tho' their poverty expoſes them to wants, ſuch as operate ſtrongly as temptations. Reaſon and experience prove, that if virtue be our ſupreme felicity, the *middle* ſtation is the *beſt*. Our ſtate in general, without diſtinction of fortune, is evidently ſuch, that we muſt perpetually militate againſt the evil principle which predominates in our hearts, as the only laſting means to prevent our returning to a ſavage ſtate of life. If all men were as thoſe who finiſh life on the gallows,

what

what ſecurity could we have in any enjoyment which bears the name of happineſs?

I fear but few men of fortune and power in their reſpective domains, think much about the religion of the common people, provided they do not ſteal. Were it not for the many charity-ſchools with which this nation abounds, and particularly theſe great cities, there is too much reaſon to believe great numbers would not entertain *any* ſenſe at all of religion; and as they could not teach their children what they never learnt, we might eaſily ſee a return of ancient barbariſm. And now if we wait till example *aſcends* from the *poor* to the *rich*, or from the *child* to the parent, without other aſſiſtance, we are not likely to ſee the work accompliſhed very ſoon.

You ſee that I give as great honor and advantage to *ſchools of inſtruction* as they can claim; but I think ſome other familiar aid is wanting for the promotion of piety among the common people, with the obedience, ſubordination, and good order which naturally reſult from it. And if this is not to be expected *immediately* from the *labor* of the *rich*, we muſt ſeek it by ſome regulation whereby a portion of their *wealth*, without their *labors*, may produce the end in view.

Yours, &c.

A Plan for promoting a juſt Senſe of Religion on the Minds of the Common People.

LETTER XII.

IT is but a poor conſolation to diſcover a diſeaſe, unleſs we can preſcribe a remedy. It occurs to me from reaſon and experience, that a remedy may be found, tho' it ſhould operate ſlowly, by a regulation of the moſt familiar kind, if ſupported by the zealous conduct of the parochial clergy. Upon this principle I propoſe a plain and ſimple method, whereby the *teachers of chriſtianity* may admoniſh and inſtruct young perſons put out as apprentices, beginning with the growing generation in ſuch a manner as that the maſters may be equally benefited and pleaſed, both in a ſpiritual and worldly view.

Such a uſe, I conceive, may be made of a reſerve out of *'prentice fees*; or where no ſuch fees are given, or ſuch *trifles* only as the *pariſhes* give, then from a particular *payment* to be made at a certain time, as a gratuity expreſsly for the deſirable end hereafter mentioned.

A deſign of this nature will prove as eaſy in the execution, as the paying a milk-maid's ſcore for the food ſhe has provided for the ſupport of the *bodies* of young perſons. This is intended as nouriſhment for their *ſouls*, and as a means tending to promote ſubordination and obedience to laws, the peace and good order of ſociety, the induſtry and labor by which the freedom of countries is preſerved, the grandeur of

ſtates

ſtates promoted, and the poor rendered comfortable *here*, and happy in their views of *hereafter*.

Money is now become ſo much the idol of mankind, and particularly in this commercial nation, that it is hardly poſſible to carry any deſign into execution in which it has not ſome ſhare. With regard to the indigent, it muſt be provided for them in ſome ſhape or other: they have no chance of ſo much wealth as is *neceſſary* to them, except it be from their *induſtry*. Now, if they can receive any emolument from *induſtry*, even by application to *religious* duties, the end in view may be happily obtained, eſpecially if the means employed keep up in the hearts of children the piety they learnt at ſchool, or prove inſtrumental in teaching them what they never learnt before.

The plan I propoſe is this:

1. All young perſons placed out as apprentices, from pariſh workhouſes, charity-ſchools, hoſpitals, and all other public charities, or places of induſtry, not giving money as an *apprentice fee*, or giving for ſuch fee leſs than 20l. to be entered in a regiſter book, in a form to be preſcribed, one margin whereof to be left blank to be filled up with the date of the certificate, hereafter mentioned: the ſaid book to be provided and paid for by the officers, governors, maſters or directors of the reſpective pariſhes, workhouſes, charity-ſchools, or hoſpitals, and the entry to be made by their reſpective maſters or clerks. The page or folio wherein ſuch entry is made, to be inſerted in the indenture, that a reference may be had thereto.

2. A counterpart of the ſame book to be provided by the ſaid officers, governors or directors in their reſpective pariſhes, and ſent to the Rector, Vicar, or Curate thereof, in order to be depoſited in *his* hands, to the end, that once every year an exact copy thereof be entered into the ſaid book by the reſpective maſters or clerks, and both books to be compared by the Vicar or Curate, that he may ſee what children have been placed out during the year, and alſo to which of them *certificates* have been given, to ſerve as a check upon the reſpective workhouſes, charity-ſchools, hoſpitals, &c.

The ſame rule might be extended to all perſons placed out apprentice, rich and poor.

3. A book of inſtructions to be printed in *twelves*, to be provided by the reſpective officers, governors, &c. the ſame not to exceed one hundred and fifty pages in *ſmall pica (a)*; to contain as follows:

The Archbiſhop of Tuam's Eſſay on making the Knowledge of Religion eaſy.

The ſame Author's Excuſes for not frequenting the Holy Communion anſwered.

A choice collection of texts from the ſcripture, to be well digeſted by ſome able divine.

A collection of ſuch prayers as have been uſed by the children in their reſpective ſchools, hoſpitals, workhouſes or places of labor, to be well reviſed.

Some of the prayers of the burial ſervice and viſitation

(a) This ſized letter, i. e. the ſame as this book, as it is legible and ſufficient for the purpoſe.

tion of the ſick, digeſted and fitted for the common uſe of *men* who are to die.

Inſtructions how an apprentice ought to behave both as a chriſtian, an apprentice, and a member of ſociety (*b*).

The form of the indenture with blanks, to fill up, ſo that the ſame be a complete copy: with an explanation of the ſeveral paſſages contained in the indenture.—The whole to be well adapted to the purpoſe.

4. Another copy of the ſame book, in the ſame manner, to be preſented to the maſter or miſtreſs: and the books to be alſo ſold publicly at the price of nine pence, bound in ſheep.

5. The indenture to ſet forth the *ſum* to be given at the *time* ſtipulated, and on the following terms, viz.

Suppoſe *forty-two ſhillings*, payable on a certificate, to be granted and ſigned by the rector, vicar, or curate, one churchwarden, and one overſeer; or in want of both, either a churchwarden or an overſeer, likewiſe one elder of the pariſh where the 'prentice ſerves; the maſter and miſtreſs alſo ſigning the ſame, and declaring that they have conſtantly recommended and encouraged the apprentice in praying, morning and evening, worſhipping at church on the ſabbath day, and keeping up in his mind a ſenſe of his duty to God, viz.

"I

(*b*) There are ſome little tracts already, but I have not ſeen any entirely ſatisfactory. The *'Prentice's Vade Mecum* contains ſome uſeful comments on the obligations of an indenture. The book aſcribed to Alderman Barber, is calculated for people of higher ranks.

" I (*a*) (*b*) of the pariſh of
" in the county of do hereby
" certify that (*c*) aged or there-
" abouts, apprentice to (*d*) (*e*)
" of this pariſh, did appear before me this day, and did
" read half a chapter in the New Teſtament of my
" chuſing, which he performed in a ſatisfactory man-
" ner; and did alſo repeat without book and without
" prompting, the belief or apoſtles creed, the ten com-
" mandments, the Lord's prayer, and a morning and
" evening prayer—And the ſaid (*f*) did
" alſo declare to me, that the ſaid apprentice had been
" accuſtomed to attend divine ſervice on the ſabbath day,
" and to ſay (*g*) prayers morning and evening.
" And the ſaid (*h*) (ſigning hereto) did fur-
" ther declare that they had conſtantly and uniformly
" endevored to keep up in the mind of the ſaid appren-
" tice, a juſt ſenſe of duty to God and neighbor.
" Witneſs my hand in this of in the
" year of our Lord 17

Signed by

} Churchwardens or Elders.

} Maſter or Miſtreſs.

(*a*) Name of the perſon certifying. (*b*) Rector, vicar, or curate. (*c*) 'Prentice's name (*d*) Maſter or miſtreſs's name. (*e*) Maſter or miſtreſs's trade or occupation. (*f*) Maſter or miſtreſs's name. (*g*) His or her. (*h*) Maſter or miſtreſs's name.

6. The

6. The certificate ſo given to be in a printed form, with blanks to fill up the name, age, and ſex of the apprentice, maſter or miſtreſs, as abovementioned.

7. Two ſhillings to be paid to the rector, vicar or curate, who examines the party, and ſigns the certificate, ſo that *forty ſhillings* ſhall remain to the maſter or miſtreſs.

8. If in addition to the *forty* ſhillings allowed the maſter, the value of ten ſhillings were given to the 'prentice, it would the more ſtrongly enforce the execution of ſuch a plan: Theſe ten ſhillings might be laid out, three in a handſome common prayer book, five in a hat, and two in a ſilver medal; which might be contrived for the occaſion, purchaſeable within the compaſs of two ſhillings. This they might wear by a ſtring about their necks under their ſhirts, and near their hearts, as a remembrance to go on in the ſame path.

You will pleaſe to take notice, that I do not inſiſt on this 8th article as eſſential to my plan, though I think it may be ſucceſsfully practiſed.

9. The certificate not to be given to any apprentice under fourteen, nor above ſixteen years of age.

10. If the certificate cannot be paſſed at the firſt appearance of the 'prentice, ſix months longer time may be allowed, provided it be done within the age abovementioned.—The rector, vicar, or his curate, is, in ſuch caſe, to recommend in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the maſter or miſtreſs, the conſideration of the *diſgrace* of loſing the *premium*, as the column in the regiſter will ſtand a blank againſt the 'prentice's name till filled up; beſides the

great injury done to the apprentice, and alſo to themſelves, by *their* being ſo little attentive in their duty to God.

Here it may be obſerved, that there is ſeldom found a boy or girl of ſo bad a memory as not to be able to repeat ſo ſmall a taſk, which, if they frequent the public worſhip, they muſt have heard continually, and which it was ſolemnly engaged for at their baptiſm they ſhould be taught.

11. The rector, vicar or curate to read publicly, on Chriſtmas day, the names of all the maſters and 'prentices, to whom he hath given ſuch certificates during the courſe of the year, that the congregation preſent may be at once reminded of the gratuity or *premium*, ſo far as any of *them* may be concerned; and likewiſe of the duty which they owe to God as connected with this honorable, tho' pecuniary mark of diſtinction. Yours, &c.

Obſervations on the preceding Plan.

LETTER XIII.

WHatever means are uſed to accompliſh the end, we are ſure that we muſt leave things to chance and preſent humor, or adopt a principle. And it is ſelf-evident that the more the common people are bred up in the fear of God, the more diligent and laborious they will be; the longer they will live capable of labor; the more they will marry and increaſe; and the better care they will take of their children and their apprentices. We have alſo reaſon to believe that the child inſtructed

will

will be a much better ſubject than the child not inſtructed, whatever his employment ſhall be.

The anſwer to any objections which may be made to this plan is as follows:

1. That ſuch a regulation as this cannot but prove one means, among others, to bring the common people to a ſenſe of their duty to their Maker, or at leaſt to the knowledge of the great *out-lines* of their religion.

2. It muſt be apparent, that a ſolemn invitation to perform the taſk required, is an object of the utmoſt importance, towards aſſiſting the *laboring poor* to learn what belongs to their preſent and everlaſting happineſs, by the ſtrongeſt proof that can be expected, that he who *fears God*, gives the beſt aſſurance of conſulting the *welfare of his maſter*, and conſequently the peace and happineſs of his country.

3. It muſt be no leſs evident, that ſuch a pecuniary emolument, will be the beſt incentive, and moſt conſtant monitor to good actions, though the duty ſhould not be always performed exactly as it ought to be.

4. As to the execution, it is not to be preſumed the rector, vicar or his curate, will be *rigid* in the examination; or, on the other hand, ſo remiſs as to render the duty of no effect. And as ſo many muſt join in a fraud, the ſuppoſition that ſuch will happen, ſtrikes at the foundation of all good faith, and implies a total indifference on the part of the maſter, as to ſhewing any regard to what his 'prentice has learnt or will learn of religious duties under him. At the ſame time, that with a ſmall portion of attention, the *profit*, the *honor*, and

the *duty*, on one ſide; and the *loſs* and *diſgrace*, on the other, cannot fail of producing the happy effect deſired.

5. My preſent view doth not lead me to inſiſt on more extenſive inſtructions being given, for which reaſon I confine myſelf to ſuch parts of the chriſtian religion as young perſons may eaſily learn, and which, by a habit of repetition, may keep on their minds an awful ſenſe of duty to God and man.

6. This gratuity will be a means of the apprentice being kept in remembrance of what hath been taught him, before he was put out, and alſo what he may have ſince learnt in his maſter's hands, whilſt it is rendered a means of his former friends and patrons, who are to pay the money, holding this connection with him, which will alſo help to encourage him.

7. If children, placed out as they now are, ſhould be adepts in their prayers, and able to do all, or more than I have mentioned, when they went out; as the caſe ſtands at preſent, how is it known that they are kept to *any* ſenſe of their duty? And ought it not to be known? And what better method than this is yet deviſed?

8. Even ſuppoſing the *regiſters* were not kept, but only *certificates* required, in order to the payment of ſuch a portion of the 'prentice fee as there might be a title to, this would cut the matter very ſhort. At the ſame time what I here ſuggeſt may either paſs into a law, or be conſidered only as a voluntary rule of conduct to individuals.

9. The

9. The execution of a plan of this kind would create the moſt ſincere veneration for any charitable inſtitution which ſhould practiſe it; and if obedience to government depends on *religion*, as well as the *gallows:* if early inſtruction is the foundation of religion, and ſuch inſtruction may be eaſily loſt by neglect; the force of this propoſition muſt be apparent.

10. Such an example may alſo lay a foundation, on which the moſt regular and harmonious ſtructure of political and religious oeconomy may be erected in *private* life, as well as in *public* or private *charities*. From its nature and tendency, it cannot fail of making ſuch an impreſſion on the *poor* or laboring part of mankind as muſt produce many great and good effects in their behavior.

11. To ſuppoſe that theſe certificates *will not be true*, would be bearing hard on the clergy, and the characters of the graveſt pariſhioners; and if a *falſhood* can be detected as eaſily as hearing a child repeat what the certificate atteſts, it will ſurely argue more caprice, than good ſenſe or piety, in any one who objects to the propoſition on ſuch an injurious preſumption.

12. Life affords many opportunities of doing good, but a deſign of ſuch importance cannot every day preſent itſelf to us. Thoſe that mean to act *as parents* to poor children, and to do the beſt they can to render them good ſubjects, and to keep them unſpotted from the world, will adopt and follow this plan, or chalk out a better. It is obvious that ſome ſuch plan is wanted.

13. It cannot be imagined, that pariſh officers, or governors of charities can viſit the children they place out, when diſperſed over a kingdom. Alas! how few know where half a dozen ſuch children are, except when they look into their books. And how many pariſh children are thrown into a bad ſituation for want of ſuch care. But in this way every guardian or officer will be kept in mind for a few years, as if it were their own children in queſtion. And whether as *pariſhes*, or as public *charitable inſtitutions*, they take cognizance of ſuch *certificates*, they certainly will not *pay the money* in queſtion, but upon the condition ſtipulated.

14. That plan is the beſt in one ſenſe which is moſt practicable; and that which moſt eaſily executes itſelf bids faireſt to ſucceed. I apprehend, the common people will never loſe ſight of *money*, though they often loſe ſight of *Heaven*. If the young perſon be 13, 14, or 16, and ſo qualified as related, if the maſter or miſtreſs make a declaration, as part of the certificate, that the child has, to the beſt of their belief or knowledge, conſtantly ſaid both morning and evening prayer, ſuch as ſhall be repeated to the clergyman, on occaſion of his giving the certificate; can it fail of operating happily, not on the *'prentice* only, but alſo on the *maſter* and *miſtreſs* themſelves, who are oftentimes as ignorant and as careleſs as the 'prentice can be.

15. What I urge ariſes from experience. I have had frequent opportunities of knowing, that *thouſands* of the poor of both ſexes are in ſuch groſs ignorance of the religion of their country, that they cannot even repeat the

Lord's

Lord's Prayer or the *Belief.* And I have hardly found any, though in reputable buſineſſes, who offer a ſingle word to their Maker, when they riſe in the morning, whatever they may pretend to at night.

Yours, &c.

Further Obſervations on the Plan.

LETTER XIV.

TO ſhow you how ignorant many of our common people are, I am informed of a recent inſtance wherein certain women were candidates for admittance in an alms-houſe, the condition of which charity is, that they ſhould repeat the Belief, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. Neither age, infirmity, or want of notice, could be urged in excuſe, and yet not one in the three could comply.

The Hollanders have a proverbial ſaying, that no man is the poorer for giving alms, or loſes any time by ſaying his prayers. It is eaſy to comprehend the true meaning of this; and certainly two or three minutes devotion in a *morning*, when theſe perſons are thoroughly awake, will not give them the leſs, but the more truſt in their Maker to animate their labors, not diſhearten them in the execution of the taſk which Providence hath aſſigned them. To learn that the very work which they perform is *ſerving God*, when they have him in their thoughts, is ſurely the beſt way to make them laborious, as well as equal and conſiſtent in their behaviour. If attempts are made to *teach*, they will *learn*.

Can

Can it be thought, that children will be good or bad, but as their maſters or miſtreſſes keep them up to ſome ſenſe of religion? Very few of the laboring part of theſe kingdoms are bred in hoſpitals. And how, as I have already ſaid, do we know that hoſpital or charity children are taken any care of, after they are placed out, in this particular?

When a child is placed out by the *Orphan* Hoſpital, a parchment of inſtructions, and a Bible, are given: if a little book, ſuch as I have mentioned, were alſo compiled, containing about the *hundredth* part of the Old and New Teſtament, and a few prayers out of the Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ten Commandments, and a well digeſted morning and evening prayer, all calculated for the purpoſe of promoting moral duties, induſtry, and truſt in God through the Redeemer of mankind, without a ſyllable of any part myſterious or difficult; ſuch a book might anſwer the purpoſe intended, during their youthful ſtate, better than the *whole* of the Old or New Teſtament. The parts of the latter moſt eſſentially neceſſary to Chriſtians, are the moſt eaſy to underſtand. It is too obvious that the Scriptures are often obtruded on children, ſo as to become irkſome to them, and for this reaſon many never look into them after they leave ſchool,——witneſs many ſcholars of the capital ſchools in England!

Upon this plan, whilſt the *young* are learning the way to Heaven, the *elder* will find the road thither, which, I am perſuaded, they now often miſtake. The true knowledge and practice of their duty will ceaſe to be a labo-

laborious task. Religion will appear to them cloathed in her native beauty and simplicity, and they will rejoice in the knowledge they have acquired in proportion as they relish the hopes it furnishes.

If any warm-brain'd enthusiast, or capricious caviller, should say, 'This is *bribing people* to be religious;' my answer is, It is very happy if they become religious by such a bribe. The rule could not be observed without some sense of religion; and if a *temporal* precedes an *eternal* reward, it is but an ordinary effect of virtue, and agreeable to *His* decrees who made the human heart.

We do not usually fall foul of the 'Squire for the beef and pudding which he gives on Sundays to his tenants who attend Divine Service, shutting out those who do not attend it. His intention is good; it is to give them a habit of religious duties.

Nothing can be more obvious than that such a bribe will promote the reputation of the parent, the parish officer, the governor who 'prenticed out the child; and the clergyman, the parish officer, the elder, and master, who are witnesses to the discharge of the religious obligation mentioned in the certificate.

As to the objection that the lesson will be learnt *only for the occasion*, the same argument will hold against all instruction at all times. If it is learnt, it is so far happy. The design in question is of the nature of catechising a lad, or grown girl, in the shortest, most simple, and familiar manner. It will be a wholesome discipline to master or mistress; and if the minister publicly reads the list, to whom certificates have been given in

the

the courſe of the year, it will make an impreſſion on all his congregation, eſpecially if he adds ſuch a comment as the ſubject naturally ſuggeſts.

This plan will be an additional labor to the clergy, whoſe labor is wanted, and they will be entitled to the *two ſhillings* for each certificate. Thus it will be *their* intereſt alſo to *give* certificates, but ſurely not for their *intereſt* nor their *honor* to give *falſe ones*. I dare ſay ſome of them will joyfully preſent *their fee* to the boy or girl who is well taught; and others, from their ſituation, will have a very good title to receive the two ſhillings, or more, if the nature of the thing would bear it.

As to the children belonging to the Hoſpital for the reception of expoſed and deſerted young children, the numbers of them may the more eaſily lay the foundation of an example through the kingdom, and ſuch an opportunity may never happen again. It is hardly poſſible a propoſition of this kind can be miſunderſtood. That it muſt be attended with good, if practicable, is obvious, ſo that it muſt reſt on the practicability; and to judge of this, the trial muſt be made. If we judge from the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, as to *'prentice fees*, the deſign is entirely correſpondent with the ſenſe of the Legiſlature; and it doth not alter the caſe, that the children of that hoſpital are taught to read and ſay their catechiſm, *before* they go into the world; the queſtion is, if they practiſe afterwards when *in* the world.

Every one who will reflect a moment, may comprehend that *government* cannot long ſubſiſt without *religion*; nor religion without clergy and teachers. And the in-

ſtruction which they give will not avail, unleſs they require a certain portion of reſpect to it, which has an inſeparable connection with their intelligent zeal, and compaſſionate activity in the ſervice of their Great Maſter. If no conſiderable degree of this reſpect remains, we muſt not be ſurprized to ſee that the common people alſo loſe their piety: and with this every moral obligation will be weakened, if happily they are not totally diſſolved.

Nor need *we* be afraid of eccleſiaſtical pride or prieſtly preſumption. This may prevail in a barbarous and illiterate nation, but not in a civilized and enlightened country. That which every good and wiſe man wiſhes all the clergy ſhould be, in order to obtain a *reſpect* for themſelves, is ſo eaſy to underſtand it need not be deſcribed.

Upon the whole, what I recommend is no leſs for the honor and dignity of the clergy than the laity; the poor than the rich; the maſter than the 'prentice; the general welfare of our country than the good of mankind.

I conſider the deſign as neceſſary, independent of the ages of children when put out, be it at 9, 10, 11, or 12 years old; and the neceſſity encreaſes in proportion as they are young, or deſtitute of parents.

If there are parents in the caſe, who will attend to the morals of their children, the maſter is ſo far kept in awe. If the maſter *is* attentive to the *morals* of the 'prentice, he will not ſuffer him to be ſtarved, nor clothed in filth and rags, nor ſpend his time in idleneſs: and if he is *not* attentive in this important article, it becomes very doubtful if he will do his duty in any other.

If we trace things to the fountain head, we ſhall find that ignorance, immorality, and irreligion, are the operating cauſes of the active and paſſive miſery which ſo much abounds in the world; and of which there is particular reaſon to complain in the conduct of maſters towards *'prentices*.

I am yours, &c.

An Eſtimate of the Poors Rate within the Bills of Mortality, and the medium Price of nurſing and maintaining the Poor.

LETTER XV.

AS a nation of merchants, we are naturally inclined to make a pecuniary computation of the value of ſubjects, and their coſt; for neither humanity with regard to *this life*, nor education with regard to a *life to come*, politically conſidered, is an object of attention, without eſtimating alſo the riches they bring in. I know not how it has happened, but it is one of the chief misfortunes of the claſs of our fellow ſubjects in queſtion, that no eſtimate hath been made of their pecuniary value. In this country, where men are ſo apt to worſhip every image that is preſented to their eyes, if it be caſt in gold, one might ſuppoſe ſuch a computation could not have eſcaped them; but ſo it is, a *preſent* trifling convenience hath taken place of the conſideration of a great *future* advantage; and though we bellow out for liberty, the juſtice due to ſome individuals has been grievouſly neglected. We ſpeculatively meditate how to promote the grandeur of the ſtate, but we practically

practically overlook a heavy loſs of ſubjects, which will ever be one of the chief cauſes of national decay.

Let us examine radically, and as accurately as the nature of the caſe will admit, what our preſent abilities are, to anſwer the end in view. What the poor's rate is, may be eaſily known by authority, eſpecially within the bills of mortality. But in the mean time I will ſearch for it; for I find in many particulars, rational deductions coincide ſo nearly, that one may venture to draw concluſions from them.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The two pariſhes of St. George Hanover-ſquare, and St. Martin's in the Fields, raiſe annually for their poor near 12,500*l.* In 1765 they had 243 children regiſtered, the whole number being 1795. Theſe being computed on the 12,500*l.* the whole ſum amounts to — — — —	92,335	7	9
But foraſmuch as there are many pariſhes who have very few, and ſome no children; for inſtance the 97 pariſhes within the walls, which have only 101, and, notwithſtanding, have ſome hundreds of adults; there is good reaſon to believe, the ſum raiſed annually within the bills of mortality is not leſs than — — — —	130,000	0	0
Mr. Maitland, in his account of theſe cities, publiſhed ſo late as 1739, makes it to be — — — —	90,835	4	$5\frac{1}{2}$

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
And charity-ſchools, hoſpitals, and alms-houſes, he ſays, was — —	96,066	16	7

If the poor's rates may be eſtimated at 130,000l. and theſe bills contain a *tenth* part of the people of England and Wales, then the whole amount muſt be — — — — — — 1,300,000 0 0

which I conceive to be near the mark; ſome make it a million and a half, ſome 2 millions, equal to the land-tax.

I apprehend that no part of the kingdom has a greater proportion of *poor* than this, none being ſo *rich*. The reaſon is plain; here are vaſt numbers of domeſtics and others who live from hand to mouth and ſave nothing, and have no connections by blood or affinity on the ſpot.

As more than a *tenth* part of the riches of the nation is ſpent here, if the general eſtimate is 7l. 10s. we may calculate 10l. a head here, which, on ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants, amount to 7,000,000l. annually ſpent in theſe cities, which is one reaſon of the vaſt aſſemblage of people. In this view, 130,000l. is near 2 per cent. for this article of expence only.

To form an adequate idea of the pecuniary value of men, and on what they live, we are to conſider what is a reaſonable computation of national expence per head.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A ſoldier having ſix-pence a day, it amounts per ánn. to — — — — — — —	9	2	6
A child at nurſe is allowed and requires at leaſt — — — — — — — —	7	10	0

The

The poor, in a very large, well managed workhouſe within the bills of mortality, have been ſupported for a length of time in meat and drink, old and young, at 1s. 9d. per week, and upon the increaſed price of proviſions it is advanced 19 per cent. viz. to 2s. 1d. which is per ann. — — — — *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* 4

All charges included they coſt about — 9 0 0

Taking in the whole maſs of people together, I ſuppoſe the annual conſumption, on a medium, not to be leſs than — — 9 0 0

Therefore to rear an infant (not being in the mother's hands) ſent from theſe cities, and treated ſo as to be preſerved, I compute will coſt per ann. for the ſix firſt years, full 7 10 0

If we eſtimate the people in general at 9l. per ann. we muſt not be ſurprized that the rearing an infant ſhould coſt 7l. 10s. per ann. for the firſt ſix years.

Where the nurſe muſt be in a conſiderable degree maintained, as well as the child, or in other words, the labor of a woman *fit to be truſted* with a life, is to be paid for, the child alſo cloathed annually, ſent from a great city to the diſtance of 20, 30 or 40 miles; and a correſpondency maintained on account of the pariſh (*i. e.* at a public charge) it is obvious that in our preſent circumſtances, this cannot be done properly at a leſs expence than 7l. 10s.

The fact is, that the Orphan Hoſpital has hardly made 7l. 10s. anſwer every demand. The governors have changed many children from place to place, with a view

view to ſave money; and in a greater proportion than they would or ſhould otherwiſe have done.

How comes it to paſs that the children of the rich, even when the parents are not vigorous in conſtitution, frequently live, when thoſe of the poor oftentimes die; and that the children of the poor in theſe cities die in ſo much a greater proportion than the ſame claſſes of mankind in the country? The difference ariſes from the care and attendance, the cleanlineſs, the wholeſome aliment, the proper cloathing, and the pure air. And how can theſe advantages be procured, unleſs we pay a ſuitable price for them? Muſt all commodities be run up in price, and the moſt intrinſically valuable be depreciated? Will not the want of neceſſaries deſtroy the life of the poor man's child as well as a rich one's?

Yours, &c.

A general Eſtimate of National Expence, in a comparative View of the Expence of Individuals.

LETTER XVI.

IT is difficult to imagine that any general account of national expence, can be more than a *rude* ſketch, variable according to the price of aliment, and the income of the nation. We will ſuppoſe 7,000,000 of people in England and Wales, to ſtand at preſent for their annual conſumption at 9l. which amounts to 63,000,000, viz.

150,000

				l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*
150,000	—	at	—	30	0	0	—	4,500,000
350,000	—	at	—	20	0	0	—	7,000,000
600,000	—	at	—	15	5	0	—	9,150,000
2,400,000	—	at	—	8	0	0	—	19,200,000
								39,850,000

Here we ſee half the people, young and old, men, women, and children, healthy and ſickly, in towns and in villages, upon this computation conſume 39 parts. The other half we may ſuppoſe conſume the remaining 23 parts.

				l.	*s.*	*d.*		
3,500,000	—	at *near*	—	6	12	6	—	23,187,500
								63,037,500

It will ſtartle you to think how the people can be ſupported by ſo little; but it is more ſurprizing how they find ſo much, conſidering what numbers ride in moſt ſuperb equipages; and, which is much worſe, that we are tributary to every nation that will lend us money. Our wars are become ſo expenſive that we mortgage our ſhirts on our backs to ſupport our honor and military reputation, neither of which, in a direct *pecuniary* view, brings in any thing to the common ſtock. If in the conſequences they contribute to our quiet eſtabliſhment in the American world; to our *defence*; our portion of foreign commerce; our rank among the nations abroad; and our liberty and religion at home; theſe are ſubſtantial goods, and we muſt ſubmit to pay for them. But as we act as if we were *enriched* by war, becauſe we have made the *right* hand in debt to the *left*,

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we are in danger of falling under the weight of our own extravagancy.

Our moſt ſubſtantial riches are our *improvements* in agriculture, our *manufactures*, *houſes*, wives and children; in other words, our numbers, and the means of living *ſafely* and *happily*. Whether our chariots be gilded or not is very immaterial, except that if we conſume our gold in parade, we ſhall have ſo much the leſs, when gold and ſilver alone may avail us.

That the maſs of the people live upon leſs than 5l. per ann. when proviſions are at what we call a moderate price, is, I believe, as ſure as that a huſbandman was wont to ſupport three or four children and himſelf, on 1s. to 1s. 6d. a day. If he cannot do this at the preſent price of proviſions, run up 19 per cent. this huſbandman muſt in proportion be paid 19 per cent. or within a ſmall fraction, three-pence a day more for his labor; the produce of his labor will be worth 19 per cent. more; and this is a vaſt burthen on every thing that labor produces, for home and foreign conſumption.

I know of nothing which riſes ſpontaneouſly without labor; and the greater number of induſtrious people there are, it is confeſſed the greater will the riches of a nation be; conſequently were we, in order to ſave expences, to condemn this poor man to a ſtate of celibacy, or to complain that we cannot find employment for his children, it is abſurd: he will be leſs laborious, leſs comfortable to himſelf, and leſs uſeful to ſociety; and we ſhall ſoon want people. This will operate in the ſame manner as the dearneſs of the produce of the earth.

It is clearly demonſtrable, that the expence of a nation, as well as that of a private man, muſt keep pace with, or be proportioned to its *income*. If we ſpend or conſume more than our income, we muſt encroach on the principal, as we moſt apparently do in time of war, particularly when we borrow money of ſtrangers.

In the mean time, if we do not preſerve all the people we can, our ability for war will decline in *men* as well as *money*; the former, humanly ſpeaking, being leaſt within our command. Therefore, I hope, when ſo ſacred an object as life is concerned, you will not uſe arguments, drawn from neceſſity in our national capacity, to leave infants in diſtreſs for the common neceſſaries of life, unleſs you mean to *oppoſe the doctrine* that the glory of a nation is founded in the ſtrength and number of uſeful individuals.

I am alſo to recommend to you, that in making an eſtimate of the coſt of preſerving infants, you will not blow hot and cold with the ſame breath: you will not ſay 7l. 10s. is a great deal too much for a *nurſe and a child*, and 30l. a great deal too little for *a ſingle* perſon in higher life, infants included. The real value of the neceſſaries of life is equal to both. The only difference is, that by habit one has made ten times as many things *neceſſary* as the other, and oftentimes is leſs contented.

Let us be grateful that we have in general ſo much more to ſpend than I believe any other people on the face of the earth; and from thence learn, not to tyrannize in any degree over our fellow-creatures and fellow-ſubjects, either in their infant ſtate or in any

other. And ſurely of all acts of oppreſſion, that of withholding the means of life from an infant, which can by no means provide for itſelf, however we may flatter and amuſe ourſelves in relation to names, cuſtoms and manners, is a capital offence againſt our country, againſt nature, and againſt *God!* This evil appears to ariſe from the ſame cauſe as our impatience of gain. Not to pay what we ought, or to receive what we ought not, ſeems to be nearly the ſame thing.

If a ſpirit of impoſition and avarice on one ſide, and cruelty or violence on the other ſhould prevail: if the preachers of the Goſpel cannot teach us what the Goſpel requires in conformity to the ſpirit, as well as the letter of our laws; as our government is built on the liberty which chriſtianity inſpires; we ſhall deviate into monſtrous political extravagances, as if we had no hopes nor fears beyond the preſent moment, nor yet truly underſtood the principle, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*

Yours, &c.

A general Eſtimate of the national Income, and the Expence of Individuals.

LETTER XVII.

IN conſidering our national income and expences, it is not neceſſary to make the diſtinction of ſtate and people. The greater the ſums required by government, the heavier the taxes muſt be; and the greater alſo will be the emoluments to ſome individuals, whether as proprietors of monies, the intereſt of which is annually paid them;

them; as officers under the crown; as ſailors, ſoldiers, and ſuch like.

I have ſuppoſed our income to be 63,000,000 *l.* and that 3,500,000 inhabitants conſume in value — — — 39,850,000
3,500,000 others conſume — — — 23,187,500
The firſt 3,500,000 on a medium is per head near — — — — 11 7 8
The laſt — — — — 6 12 6

Hints of this kind often lead us to enquiries of utility. And although exactneſs in ſuch a comprehenſive matter can never be reached, we may form a conſiſtent idea of what we can afford to ſpend, and what is really neceſſary to life, according to the uſual prices of the produce of our land and trade. There is a certain proportion which things bear to each other, the knowledge of which, as nearly as the nature of the caſe will admit, cannot fail of being of conſiderable uſe.

Let us then attempt to inveſtigate the ſituation of the laboring part of mankind, and we may ſuppoſe them to expend, old men and young, women and children, full 6 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* per ann. each, beſides the advantage of ſuch aſſiſtance as occaſionally flows from the affluence and benignity of the higher claſſes of the people, not properly gained by the poorer part. Let us ſeek for a computation of our general income.

Some ſanguine accounts make us to be worth a *thouſand* millions: ſome go as far as *twelve hundred*. My eſtimate is made on 800 millions: I find the analogy correſpond with this value, and a fine eſtate it is, and very improveable if we do not ſquander and mortgage it away.

I include our poſſeſſions abroad, which are of great conſideration, only in the view of trade, for we draw no revenue from them.

The value of our land, on the preſent land-tax of 4 s. in the pound, producing but two millions, if it were a real fifth part, would be but ten millions per annum; but I apprehend it is worth near three times ten per ann. Let us then call it *four hundred* millions, and reckon the produce for the landlord 3 per cent. for the ſupport of the farmer and his family 3; and for ſtock, tythes, and taxes, $1\frac{1}{2}$ more; the medium eſtimation, be it a little more or leſs, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is — 30,000,000

N. B. As I have not computed the inhabitants of North Britain, you are to ſuppoſe, that I leave out the portion which theſe pay to the land-tax.

Houſe-rent, ſuppoſing one houſe for ſix people, is 1,166,666 houſes. If we take 800,000 houſes only, and put them at 10 l. on a medium, and, I preſume I am within compaſs, the amount is — — — 8,000,000

N. B. You perceive that houſe-rent on this computation conſtitutes near one eighth part of the *expence* of individuals.

Our perſonal eſtate, I ſuppoſe to be equal to four hundred millions more; and upon this I reckon a produce of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. conſiſting in profits on manufactures, produce of mines, foreign commerce, and domeſtic traffic — — — — 25,000,000

63,000,000

Thus

Thus you ſee I make it out to a farthing, and ſo far as its analogy with what we are clearly acquainted with, holds good, we may give it credit. As to what goes off for taxes, ſuppoſing it be 10 millions, it is ſtill ſpent in the maintenance of individuals. And in this general computation, ſuch taxes are not above a ſixth part of our income; but by our cuſtom of preying on each other and extorting near *two*, where government receives but *one*, it may be doubted whether the taxes of all kinds, in this view, do not amount to near a third part, which is an evil we have brought on ourſelves, ſo heavy, that we muſt find the means to render the burden lighter. It is our duty and our intereſt to perform this as ſpeedily as poſſible, before things take a more rapid turn to declenſion, which on our preſent plan they will do.

You will hardly think, from the computations which I have made, that I mean to overfeed the rich or the poor; but to induce them to conſult each other's happineſs, by promoting peace and good order, the happineſs of the opulent, and the comfort of the indigent.

Speculative political arithmeticians, are apt to calculate on what can be done under all poſſible advantages: not on what is reaſonable to be expected under various diſadvantages.

We are too good maſters of the great ſcience of liberty, as well as religion, to be ignorant that the preſervation of the poor is our firſt and greateſt object.—Therefore, ſo long as we can find the means of employing them, whether it be more or leſs profitable, ſo long they will be of ſuch a pecuniary value. But if it ſhould

pleaſe

pleaſe the Almighty to humble our pride, and reduce our firſt people to a more parſimonious or leſs extravagant way of living; and inſtead of ſo many luxurious indulgencies, to ſeek health and virtue, and a fairer proſpect of heaven; in the eye of reaſon and religion, the change will not be to their diſadvantage.

If we conſider common people as mere animals of the day, yet ſo long as they have paſſions and ſenſations, and are fired with the generous ſentiments of liberty, we ſhall find that it is the valor and ſtrength of ſuch common people, ſupported by the hand of providence, which muſt ultimately decide whether we ſhall live and die in poverty as ſubjects of a ſlaviſh government, or in abundance, under a free, rational, and happy conſtitution.

After being ſo laviſh of the lives of many thouſands who might have fought our battles, or been plowing our fields, in order to avoid the ſame misfortune hereafter, and create plenty, let us compute what the pecuniary value of a life may be.—By vulgar computation it is 100l. —It appears to me to be full 300l.

The allowance for children is 7l. 10s. under the care of nurſes; let us allow as far as for 1 in 3 to die after a life of 5 years, and at 5 years end the 2 ſurviving children will have coſt each — — — — —	56	5	0
If we add 4l. per head for 5 years more it is — — — — — — — —	20	0	0
For 5 years more only 2l. — — —	10	0	0
	86	5	0

It

It may be expected they ſhould maintain themſelves by the age of 12, but in this general view I believe it will not be found ſo. They may do it in part, and therefore I reckon only 2 l. for the laſt 5 years. Let us ſet the coſt till 15 years old, charges on all dead, as well as living children included, at — — — 86 l. 5 s.

The duration of life, fit for labor, I compute, upon a medium, to be from 15 to 38, *i. e.* 23 years of labor.

Conſidering that near one fourth of mankind are of ſeven years of age and under, the number of aged perſons whoſe ſtrength is exhauſted, and the idle of both ſexes, there cannot be above 3,500,000 working to ſupport themſelves and as many more, and theſe, on the computation of ſix days of labor in the week, muſt earn for themſelves and others, as much as will ſupport the whole. Every mortal is at work, but not all in providing food and raiment, nor building houſes.

On this principle, 3,500,000 people, at 13¾ pence a day, it amounts to near — — — 63,000,000 l.

13¾ pence a day for 313 days is — 17 l. 18 s. 7 d.

Conſequently every working perſon at 15, whoſe life is eſtimated at 23 years purchaſe for labor, is equal to — — 412 l. 7 s. 5 d.

Deducting the charges already mentioned	86	5	0
Remain nett — — — —	326	2	5

The Orphan Hoſpital account will be full 80 l. each, ſuppoſing the living chargeable with the expences made on the dead; but only 1 in 3 *of them* is preſerved, and the others died young: had 2 in 3 lived, the charge muſt have been much greater.

If

If we ſet the annual ſupport of a life at 6l. 12s. 6d. and add all expences on thoſe *paſt their labor*, I apprehend this computation of 1 working for 2, will be found correſpondent with the moſt rational deductions. If we could preſerve a life for leſs, and the labor were of leſs value, ſtill the life may be worth to the community 326l. 2s. 5d.

It is not ſuppoſed the young perſon is to get nothing before 15, nor quite $13\frac{3}{4}$ pence a day immediately after, but a medium computation: and I believe it will be found in this kingdom, and the principality of Wales, to be near the mark; I mean of the value of labor; not that they all receive ſo much per diem, but upon the computation that 35 work for 70.

If there are not ſo many at work as 3,500,000; or if there are not ſeven millions of people to ſupport, then the value of the labor muſt be more than $13\frac{3}{4}$ pence a day: for the fact is, we are ſupported, and ſupported by labor, which has its value the ſame as the bread it produces, to thoſe who eat it.

We have, for ſeveral years paſt, made the mortifying diſcovery of the danger of placing too high a value on proviſions, and alſo on labor: the good being overlooked, the evil preſſes hard; other countries having alſo their policy, we muſt have regard to it in our commerce with them, or we ſhall loſe *it* and *ourſelves* alſo.

If therefore we conſider men in no higher rank than horſes, not concerned in the glory of *their country*, as dependant on liberty and defence; nor on the hopes of a better ſtate after death, in conſequence of the genuine

love of our neighbor: dropping, I ſay, theſe momentous conſiderations, we act a very fooliſh part, whenever we ſuffer a child in any place to periſh for want of neceſſaries. He that has no idea of national arithmetic, or the pecuniary value of a life, is not the leſs bound to avoid ſuch neglects or evil practices as deſtroy his fellow-ſubjects; and he muſt be ſtrangely ſhort-ſighted who doth not ſee that it is from the numbers and value of lives, that we enjoy all the advantages which the mercies of heaven beſtow upon us; that there is an abſolute neceſſity of appropriating a ſum adequate to the importance of the object, and that it ſhould be expended *in ſuch manner* as the end in view may be fully and effectually anſwered. Money alone will not do the buſineſs; but the great evil hath been in ſaving the money and loſing the life, though no private perſon is the richer for it, and the ſtate very much the poorer.

Yours, &c.

Enquiry into our Numbers, and the State of the common People, reſpecting the Price of maintaining Life, and our Dependance on the Sweat of their Brows.

LETTER XVIII.

I Hope you will not deem it immodeſt, impolitic, or romantic, to *ſuppoſe* that we are *ſeven* millions in England and Wales. Some calculators eſtimating our numbers on the houſes which pay taxes, and on the conſumption of corn, ſuppoſing each perſon to expend a quarter of wheat in a year, would perſuade us that we

are but *ſix* millions. Truth is the object we ought always to purſue; but it is not neceſſary that all truths ſhould be exactly *known*, more than always *ſpoken*. Nor need every one know what may concern the profeſſion of a ſtateſman. But if we are to acquieſce in ſomething like truth, then *that* which encourages men moſt in purſuits of a uſeful tendency, ſeems to be entitled to the moſt attention.

This nation is perpetually hunting after new worlds, to feed or clothe the inhabitants, eſpecially if they have any *gold*, or that which we can make gold of, to give us in return: and as there ſeems to be no more worlds to explore, conſequently if we find a million of people in our own land, dear to us by every tie that religion, humanity, language, laws or liberty can make, let us keep them *properly* fed, clothed and cheriſhed, that their numbers may encreaſe. If there is yet no ſuch exiſtence, it is our intereſt and our honor to obey the laws of heaven, and by every honeſt art to encreaſe and multiply.

As to the numbers living in houſes that pay taxes, we know it very imperfectly; but the numbers who pay no taxes, is leſs known to us; and the thouſands who hardly ſleep in what we call a houſe, are very conſiderable.

I alſo apprehend it is difficult to come at the conſumption of corn. Some make the annual conſumption in quarters as follows:

3,750,000 people, each, of	wheat	— —	1 0
739,000 — — —	barley	— —	1 $\frac{3}{8}$
888,000 — — —	rye	— —	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
623,000 — — —	oats	— —	2 $\frac{7}{8}$

Beſides

Beſides barley for beer — quarters 3,300,000
Oats for horſes, &c. — — 2,461,500

This proves only that ſome live hard, but not that each conſumes 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ lb. wheaten bread. Indeed I apprehend this quantity is more than is generally conſumed, one fourth of mankind being under 7 years of age, and many old, and perhaps many more than computed who conſume wheaten bread. Granting that a ſtout working man may eat 1$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread in a day, yet in general the conſumption ſeems difficult to aſcertain.

If there were but 6 millions, the half part being 3 of males, and 1 in 15 of theſe taken for war, makes but 200,000. So many we have maintained at one and the ſame time, tho' not all Engliſh or Welſhmen. But conſidering the neceſſity of *recruits*, and how much more populous in ſubjects fit to bear arms, England is, than Ireland or Scotland, there is a ſtrong preſumption from hence that the computation of 6 millions is ſhort of the truth.

But ſuppoſing *ſeven millions*, conſidering the extenſive dominions of the Britiſh empire; the rank we aſpire at among the nations of the earth; and the expence we live at, it behoves us very ſeriouſly to provide the means of furniſhing more people, which is practicable by rendering the ſupport of life cheaper, taxing celibacy, making whoredom infamous on the ſide of the male as well as female, and encouraging matrimony.

As to the firſt of theſe, upon the ſuppoſition that we have 7 millions, and that the analogy of the computations I have ſent you, has a concordance or affinity with the certain datum which I have produced, you will allow

me to proceed to ſhew you, how neceſſary it is to drop *part* of our vaſt property, in order to render the remainder more valuable than it is at preſent, and to apply ourſelves to the cultivation of ſound policy rather than the arts of magnificence, which in the iſſue will deſerve no higher appellation than ſlavery and ſplendid poverty.

Let us ſee how a poor man can live, and whether at the preſent prices of proviſions he has or has not cauſe to complain.

Bread, 1½ lb. at 1 d. per lb. is per ann. —	2	5	7
Cheeſe, 3 oz. at 4 d. per lb. is per ann. —	1	2	10
Meat, 4 oz. for 6 days in the week (or roots, vegetables, &c.) at 3 d. per lb. is per ann.	0	19	6
Clothing per ann. — — — —	1	4	0
Soap, candles, cottage, and other articles —	1	00	7
	6	12	6

Here is nothing for *beer*, which is an eſſential article to his health, as well as the joy of his heart; he will drop his bread and die, rather than his beer. If he pays 1½ d. per lb. for bread, *as at this time*, then his life will coſt him more, 1 l. 2 s. 9 d. or in all — — 7 15 3

Some do not eat ¾ lb. of bread, nor expend above 15 s. in clothing. If a man is in health and ſtrength for laborious work, inſtead of the computation of — — — — 6 12 6

he will earn 1 s. 6 d. a day, for 6 days in a week, which amounts to — — 23 9 6

conſequently there remains — — 16 17 0

which

which he has to lay out in beer and meat, or clothes, or whatever may be moſt agreeable to him. But being in this ſituation, we are to ſuppoſe if the wife and their children add $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day, it makes both equal to $13\frac{3}{4}$ d. the computation I make of the value of labor, and both comes out per ann. to — — — 35 l. 17 s. 3 d.
If they have 3 children to ſupport, it comes out each perſon at — — — 7 3 5
and if they have none, it muſt be ſuppoſed that they work for at leaſt two others beſides themſelves; or that two others do not earn half ſo much for themſelves or for the perſons who employ them.

But if theſe people are obliged to ſpend their gain in providing food, they will be kept very bare in clothing, and if a conſumption of clothing is not kept up, manufactory will neceſſarily decline, and conſequently there will be a chaſm; and ſo much leſs circulation of national opulence will be created. From hence it is evident that agriculture muſt be attended to as the *firſt* article, in order to make proviſions moderate in price, or manufactory cannot be promoted, nor the *circle* made completly *round*.

This is impoſſible to be done till the eyes of the moſt opulent are ſufficiently opened to diſcern their true ſituation, and that ſtrictly ſpeaking they have no natural right, reſpecting the duties of humanity, nor political rights, with regard to the welfare of their country, to count upon all they receive, as property which they may ſpend in whatever manner they pleaſe. There muſt be a voluntary or compulſive reſtraint; and every individual muſt

muſt conſider his neighbor's ſituation as his own, not merely by temporary reliefs, but by the moſt political permanent modes of promoting induſtry, abridging expences, and learning how to live *to-day*, that we may be morally ſure of the means of living *to-morrow*.

When a nation is arrived to a ſummit of earthly glory, which it may reach in a ſhort period of time, a people will perceptibly grow wanton and averſe to ſuch alterations in their manner of living, as differ from their cuſtoms and faſhions which exiſted during the advancing progreſs of their national ſplendor. But ſo long as it appears that any conſiderable numbers of the working part of the nation, are in real diſtreſs, the rich may be certain that they are enjoying ſomething more than ſtrictly belongs to them; and they ſhould alſo conſider by what means they may do national juſtice to their fellow-ſubjects, the inſtruments of their opulency, at leaſt with reſpect to food and raiment.

Poor men often live to a good old age, and lay down their heads to reſt, in the ſleep of *death* as in the ſleep of *refreſhment*, as rationally and contentedly as if providence had placed them in a higher ſtation: but whilſt they live they muſt *eat* and *drink*, and be *clothed*.

I am yours, &c.

Further Enquiry into the State of the Poor.

LETTER XIX.

HOwever complicated the caſe may be with reſpect to the general ſtate of our country, as to *poverty* or *riches*, ſcarcity or plenty, the remedy for the preſent dear

dear price of wheat lies ſo level to common apprehenſion, that were there nothing more than this temporary ſcarcity, it doth not appear to be an object of any alarm.

When one ſpecies of proviſion is very dear, we muſt neceſſarily uſe the leſs of it, and the more of ſome other: And, conſidering that three fourths of mankind in general never eat any wheaten bread at all, there is no danger of being ſtarved to death for want of this ſpecies of nutriment only; therefore if we *can* get any other *good* proviſions, we may ſet our hearts at eaſe.

But the evil lies in the general high price of *every* article, and in the cauſes of it, which are ſo obvious. Every one hath done all he could to make every thing dear; as if the more each *received*, the more opulent each would become, no matter what he *paid*. This hath ſome analogy with our national debt, that the more we owe the richer we are. If a merchant, in making up his books, were to paſs over all the accounts which ſtand on the creditors ſide of his ledger, and reckon only the debtors, he would deceive himſelf into ſpeedy ruin. Yet this is in ſome meaſure our caſe. We do not reckon what we owe: but government muſt make demands on us, and we muſt ſatisfy thoſe demands. This evil which ariſes from our wars, which neceſſity in ſome meaſure brought on us, extravagancy has confirmed. Thus exactions of every kind have become faſhionable. The poor have riſen in their demands as well as the rich; but when we all find our miſtake, the latter will be moſt expoſed to ſuffering. The evil muſt fall the heavieſt on

thoſe who have no other property than the labor of their hands and the protection of their country.

If our diſtreſs increaſes, and no kind of proviſion is to be obtained within the ability of many purchaſers, in one part of the dominion, we muſt carry it to them from another part. And if we conſider

1. The great fertility of this kingdom;
2. The abundance of fiſh which ſome of the coaſts of this iſland produces at certain ſeaſons;
3. The plentiful productions of *Ireland*;
4. The cheapneſs of rice in *Carolina*, being leſs than two-pence a pound landed in *England*;
5. The facility of getting any quantity of dried fiſh from *Newfoundland*, at three half-pence a pound, &c.

From ſuch-like advantages, it is, humanly ſpeaking, hardly poſſible for this nation to be in diſtreſs for any length of time; unleſs our national prejudices, with regard to the uſe of particular kinds of food, are reached to ſuch a height, as not to be ſubdued, even by the force of hunger.

It is a part of our policy to confine ourſelves to the produce of our own lands at home; but it is our duty, at all events, to ſee that the people be fed at a price they can pay.

There ſeems to be a vulgar error concerning the price of labor in this, compared with other countries. We are now paying a great price for manufactory and agriculture, but our people generally do more work in a day than the ſubjects of any other nation that I have ſeen; and if it were not ſo, we ſhould have loſt our markets long ſince. For the ſame reaſon, if they would ſtick to

their work, ſuch a ſcarcity as the preſent would not be much felt by working people in health, as a half-penny a day in bread is a conſiderable addition, and a penny a day in work is eaſily earned.

It hath been often remarked in manufacturing towns, that when proviſions are dear, then the moſt work is done, becauſe fewer perſons are idle, fewer loſe ſo many days, or hours in a day, than when they can gain their ſupport for a week, by the labor of three or four days only.

In time of war, when we can command our markets, theſe arguments are not bad ones: but they are not of equal weight when there is a leſs demand for the labor of the working part of the nation. If we conſider how many old men, women and children can gain but little; if that little is not adequate to the price of the ſupport of life, they muſt be in diſtreſs. And the greater the plenty they have been accuſtomed to, the greater will their diſtreſs be. And this entails another evil; the more liberally they are relieved, the leſs vigilant they will be to help themſelves: ſo that where there is ability for work, it is far better they ſhould be employed in offices of no uſe than ſit ſtill.

In regard to manufacturers, it would be difficult for us to obtain proviſions for them always at a certain price, as I am told is practiſed at *Lyons*, for the rich manufacturers of that city. If theſe enjoy ſuch a privilege in an arbitrary country, they are alſo confined within narrow bounds in the price of their labor; they are not relieved by any pariſh-rate in caſe of diſtreſs; and the very ad-

vantage they enjoy is a proof of their abject ſtate. Private men may eſtabliſh rules of this kind, by private contracts, and ſomething of the ſame nature is already done in parts of this kingdom: but it is difficult to comprehend how it can be performed on any other principle than a total *freedom*.

Time and chance happen to all men. Next to our own growth, we uſually apply to our ſiſter iſland, as neareſt at hand; in the next place to our colonies, happily abounding in the neceſſaries of life, though at ſome diſtance; and next, our fiſheries: and, according to the meaſure of our wants, we may call for a portion from all theſe parts, and of every kind, either on private, or, if the caſe was very urgent, on public account. But ſurely we ſhould change our uſual mode of living, and eat bread of potatoes, rather than part with our gold and ſilver for proviſions bought of ſtrangers, which turns the tables and the balances of trade upon ourſelves.

Theſe balances were formerly much more conſiderable than at preſent, and therefore we ſhould be the more careful of them, even as careful as of our *bread*, when we want it *for our own uſe*. They are a commodity, it is true, but ſuch, as by means of them, we may command *any* thing, not *bread* only, but *defence in war*; i. e. the uſe of men in armies and navies, both natives and foreigners.

Upon the ſame principle we ſhould be careful how we put a ſtop to any branch of trade. Spirituous liquors, whatever grain it is made of, is a commodity, which, upon the whole, is hurtful to mankind, but they will

uſe it. It is an article of foreign traffic, it is a link of the chain of commerce: if it is not provided at home, it will be run in upon us, and therefore an object of conſideration how the diſtillery may be reſtrained, without a ſtop, ſuppoſing we can find *good* nutriment at a moderate price, whatever kind it be of. On the other hand, God only knows how long this temporiſing ſyſtem to purchaſe *wealth*, at the *hazard of ſafety*, can exiſt. Many a man in private life has been *undone* for *fear* of being undone; and if we connive at a great certain evil where we find it, to avoid a leſs misfortune, not ſo certain, we ſhall ever be indanger of ruin.

Neceſſity hath no law; but there are few neceſſities where there are not reſources; and of two evils we are taught to chuſe the leaſt. But men's mode of judging depends on cuſtom, rather than on the reaſon of things: we cannot eaſily accommodate our minds to one principle of action when we have been uſed to another. Private men are often ruined by *bad cuſtoms*, and ſo are *nations* undone by doing *evil* with a view to *good*.

But there is ſomething, diſtinct from cuſtom, to be ſubdued; it is the *humor* of the people, who do not always underſtand their own intereſt. National prejudices in the *political*, are like inveterate diſeaſes in the *natural* body. Happily we have an antidote againſt the poiſon of them: for *faſhion* governs arbitrarily, and this depends on the *leading* part of the nation.

Neceſſity is alſo the parent of invention or contrivance. We all plead for trade, as the grand ſource of employment; nor ſhould we loſe any part of it which can be

kept with *ſafety*. We may conſtantly retain a view of the great principle by which we are kept in action, and which feeds both poor and rich; whilſt we guard againſt quick changes in traffic, which, however well intended, are often productive of very evil conſequences.

But, whilſt our darling object is gain, we ſhould endevor to diſtinguiſh between pecuniary advantage, and the more ſubſtantial benefits of ſocial intercourſe and the good of others: the gain of the public, and the gain of individuals, is not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed; nor is the object of the public gain always clearly underſtood. At preſent the greateſt public gain ſeems to be plenty of common neceſſaries, contentment, harmony, and national ſafety; theſe are wound together as the ſtrands of a cable, by which a ſhip rides at anchor, in foul weather and in fair; and, in proportion as they are *cut*, *fretted*, *rubbed*, or *worn*, the cable is in danger of parting, and the ſhip of going on ſhore.

We imagine that we exiſt as a nation by *trade*, by which we mean the exchange of commodities, and the augmentation of them. But we might be happier and ſafer if we had leſs wealth, and more plenty of the *neceſſaries* of life. Freedom is the choiceſt gift of heaven, yet by purſuing it too eagerly we may be undone, as we may by be our *wealth*. We may be undone by having too much trade, or too little foreſight in traffic. If, for inſtance, there is a demand for the produce of our lands, and the individual gains by the exportation of it, if not reſtrained within proper bounds and limitations, we may ſuddenly find ourſelves in a ſtarving condition.

Our

Our neighbors, the republicans, are ſaid to have once ſold gunpowder to their enemies the day before a battle. Whether this be true or not, it is a lively picture of paſſion for that object by which we generally mean *trade*.

I am yours, &c.

The Relief of the Diſtreſſed eſſential to Liberty.

LETTER XX.

TO direct our courſe right, and ſteer between extremes, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh new cuſtoms and new manners, laws alone cannot bind us. It ſeems as if we were wantonly careleſs in plenty, by a profuſion of conſumption: and the ſame conduct prevails when we grow wantonly undiſciplined in ſcarcity. If the rich guard againſt acting as if they were richer than they are; we *may* then be ſurprized to ſee the poor act as if they were rich, to which they have a ſtrong propenſity, and not before. If, under a notion of abundance, we light our candle at both ends, it will be waſted and burnt out before we are ſenſible that we ſhall be in the dark. Our greateſt danger is from improvidency, in other words, from tempting Providence. Whether, as individuals, accountable to ourſelves for imprudence; as unities, accountable to our Maker; as members of a community which we ought to love and ſerve; as fellow-creatures, whom, notwithſtanding our common infirmities, we ought to inſtruct, perſuade and cheriſh; in every view we ſtand bound to be provident, and guard againſt the *expenſiveneſs* of the times. We cannot ſuppreſs the ſpirit

of

of gain without growing languid in the purſuits of induſtry; much leſs can we command the ſkies for favorable ſeaſons; but we can be *contented* with a *moderate expence*, and maturely conſider thoſe who ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance.

And if ſuch as enjoy great ſuperfluities, for which nature makes no demands, do not retrench for the ſake of thoſe who are in real want, we may ſafely pronounce that the community will not exiſt very long, at leaſt on the principles of virtuous freedom. If the love of liberty neceſſarily leads us to ſpill our blood for each other when any one is injured, to leave him in any great ſuffering for want of ſuch aſſiſtance as we can afford, at much leſs expence than our blood, is a rank deviation from our own principle, and a proof that freedom droops and languiſhes, as if the divine ſpirit of it was departing from us. Nor is an occaſional effort of benevolence ſufficient to anſwer the great ends of virtuous liberty: it muſt be a permanent principle of action: it muſt be in *politics* what charity is in *religion:* we muſt *bear* and *forbear*, and *hope* with zeal and fortitude. Indeed in the ſame view that the exerciſe of humanity is an eſſential part of religion, ſuccor to a diſtreſſed countryman is an eſſential part of liberty.

I am yours, &c.

Vigilance

Vigilance and Attention to the Welfare of the laboring Part of the Nation, the Intereſt, Duty, and Honor of Gentlemen of landed Eſtates.

LETTER XXI.

IF thoſe who *are*, and thoſe who are *likely to be*, in real diſtreſs, could be in any degree diſtinguiſhed, the mode of relieving them would be the more eaſily diſcovered. What I remarked in my laſt is too well known, namely, that ſome make ſcarcity an occaſion of idleneſs, and others who are really in want, preſume ſo much on the humanity of their benefactors, that they are apt to inſiſt on terms. Nor is it always enough that *proviſions* be good; they muſt alſo be of a particular kind. This is a national misfortune, ariſing from great plenty; and it ſhould be treated rather as a kind of frenzy, which is apt to predominate in this country, than reſented as if the objects of our mercy were unworthy of regard. But where this prevails in any great degree, the people cannot be conſidered in *extreme* diſtreſs; but that unhappily they have been accuſtomed to be better *fed* than *taught*.

That they are not better taught how to preſerve their bodies as well as ſouls, is in a great meaſure the fault of thoſe who ſhould be their teachers. I do not mean to reproach the clergy in particular. I apprehend they are as pure in belief of what is to be hereafter, and act as agreeably to ſuch belief, as can be expected under a ſtate of corruption of manners. Some are remiſs in their attend-

attendance on their flock: but where they do their duty, they are ſubject to be counteracted. If in 4 to 7 years, as mortality and *elections* come on, we lead the poor into idleneſs, diſeaſe, and death; in proportion as this rottenneſs in the conſtitution of our body politic prevails, the poiſon will play havoc with the morality and religion of our common people: and the very circumſtance from whence we are ſuppoſed to derive our liberty, may become the cauſe of the total loſs of it. That ſome check is given to this evil, is owing to the virtue of a few: but it is very apparent that the ſquandering large ſums in every kind of debauchery muſt bring on ſuch univerſal diſcord and anarchy, as no government can long ſtand up againſt. We muſt *hope for the beſt* as to length of duration: but admirable as our conſtitution is, the folly of ſome, the ambition and avarice of others, and the debauchery of the multitude, give it ſuch a turn as to make it carry the ſeeds of its own diſſolution, beyond the common meaſure of the finite ſtate of human concerns.

In the mean time the miſchiefs created have not a due counterpoiſe by the force of *example*, which is the parent of virtue, and the guardian of liberty. It is by *example* that men are fired with reſolution to do their duty. But what ſhall we ſay of the country gentleman, who wantonly leaves his domain, and ſpends no time nor thought on his tenants, pariſhioners, or dependants? He muſt expect, that unleſs the ſpiritual teacher and his ſteward perform wonders, the freedom of the people will degenerate into ferocity; and whether he thinks ſo or not, we may preſume he will be anſwerable to God, as he is

to

to his country for the greateſt part of the miſchiefs which may happen from their being left uninſtructed in right ways, or unprevented from deviating into wrong ones: —for what can be the iſſue? Is it not the *eye of the maſter makes the ox fat?* Is it not a very acute, though vulgar adage, *like maſter, like man?* How rarely do we find, that things left to ſubalterns, or fortuitous events, have proper marks of that deſign, and judicious rule of conduct, as conſtitute equality and conſiſtency, or indeed have the proper *end* in view? There muſt be a directing hand guided by prudence, and a heart warmed with benevolence, acting as it were by a preternatural power over the minds of men. In proportion to the rank we bear, and the proof we give of the goodneſs and propriety of our intentions, our labors will be crowned.

On the other hand, in the ſame degree as we depart from ſimplicity of manners, in cities and great towns, even the peaſant becomes corrupted. Yet where he ſees the lord of his lands act the part of a *man* and a *chriſtian*, the example ſtrikes him with a religious awe; he calls to mind that there is a God, and a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments after death. In like manner, where examples of prodigality unite their force with a careleſs contempt of fellow-ſubjects, we muſt not be ſurprized if they generate confuſion.

The higher men are in fortune, the greater will their natural and acquired influence be: but when young noblemen and gentlemen, coming to eſtates of above 1000l. or 1500l. per annum, think they are abſolved from all obligations of this kind, the liberty of their

country ſhudders. And how few ſuch do we ſee acting the part of *fathers* to the people! It is very true they have been bred up with high ſentiments of *Roman*, or, which is full as good, of *Britiſh* liberty, ſupported by the exalted benevolence which *chriſtianity* inſpires: They are taught to bleed for their country; and it is alſo true, that in the pomp and parade of military atchievements, they often *dare* to bleed. But it is not *dying* for their country in the field of Mars, ſo much as *living for it*, that conſtitutes the patriot, and friend to human kind. And where can he diſplay his powers, and give proof of his love for his country, if he is not attentive to thoſe who depend on him? What does his *country* mean, if his *countrymen* are not to partake of his council, his correction, his benevolence, his protection? If he flies from one corner of a kingdom to another, in ſearch of *pleaſures*, which he rarely finds; if he forſakes thoſe whom Providence hath placed under his eye and patronage: if only ſcenes of amuſement *in crowds*, can afford his undiſciplined mind any delight, he will inevitably loſe all reliſh for ruſtic ſcenes of Roman virtue, and Britiſh philanthropy; the Chriſtian religion will have no charms to him; the ſocial ties of paternal tenderneſs for thoſe who ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance, will become as viſionary dreams and romantic plans of life. And if he will not reach out a foſtering hand to ſuccor drooping age and tender infancy, he will loſe his weight; nor will the reprobate ſtand in any awe of him.

Freedom and *plenty* are coeval; they deſcended from heaven in the ſame hour, and may return to heaven again;

again; but *virtue* only can guard and defend them here on *earth*. Whether in high life or in low, virtue and good diſcipline are as eſſential to liberty, as ſight to the condition of human nature. We are bound to love each other as fellow-ſubjects and as Chriſtians; but where love is abſent, indifference will ſupply its place: the tranſition from thence to contempt is familiar to the mind; and hatred too often follows. The very profligacy, which by our own neglects have obtained ground, will ſeem to render our hatred, or at leaſt *contempt* of each other, warrantable.

When one conſiders the very reſpectable light in which *gentlemen* of landed eſtates in *England* are placed, where they are attentive to the part which Providence hath aſſigned them, there can be no condition more dignified or amiable: when they neglect their duty and proper occupation, they grow into contempt themſelves, and will be anſwerable for all the miſchievous effects of their loſs of influence.

The difference between him, who acts like an Engliſh country gentleman of fortune, and him who is concerned only for the *receipt* of his *rents*, and how much theſe ſhall amount to, come as they may, is very great indeed: it is not eaſy to *deſcribe*, but it may be *ſorely* felt.

It is from this ſource that I preſume to date many of the evils we now labor under, and many more which threaten us. If every man of property in land, or other great wealth, will *at this time* enter into the ſituation of his dependants, within the boundary of his particular influence, no occaſional ſlight calamity can deeply af-

ſect the comfort and ſupport of the people. *Artificial* wants could not prevail, and *natural* ones would grow light. Each would ſet his hands to the plough or the ſpade; roots and vegetables, and animal ſubſtance, would ſupply the defect of grain: our horſes ſhould feed on ſtraw, that our *fellow-creatures* might feaſt on oats: theſe being kiln-dried, and made into grots, become excellent food for *ſeamen*, and might ſurely be for *landmen* alſo.

If ſuch events are not to be expected, we muſt be contented to part with ſome of our gold and ſilver for ſuch neceſſaries, as we ſtand in immediate need of; and recover ſuch riches again by trade as well as we can.

I am yours, &c.

Virtue and Prudence eſſential to the political Welfare of the Nation.

LETTER XXII.

THAT we are, and for ſome years paſt have been extravagant, is, I believe, granted; if I ſay *very* extravagant, it may not be denied. If we trace things back to the year 1720, we ſhall ſee the frenzy ran ſo high, and the paſſion for the means of luxurious gratifications predominated ſo much, that our fellow-ſubjects imagined we poſſeſſed a *trade*, in which large ſums might be embarked to yield *one thouſand* per cent. Thus, ſome from riding in their coaches betook themſelves to their feet, and others were mounted into gilded cars, who had but a ſlender title to them.

This ſeems to be a picture of theſe times, in regard to one part of the nation living on the other; and then

counting all as riches, and ſpending accordingly. It is true, that every one embarking in enterprizes of gain, the whole, during half a century, have been conſiderably enriched, but not in the proportion as we have lived for ſeveral years paſt.

The peace of *Utrecht*, preſerved till the Spaniſh war of 1739, added to the encreaſe of our wealth; but that very wealth has encreaſed our public and private expence, and ſecretly ſapped the foundations of our national virtue. It was then, after a long peace, and the advantages of it, we begun to run ourſelves 20 to 30 millions in debt; and from 1754 we went deeper 60 or 70 millions, private expence encreaſing in proportion.

The faſcinating ſweets of public emoluments betrayed us ſo much, that many thouſands have maintained as a maxim, that government cannot ſubſiſt *without corruption*; whereas it is coming to light, by a regular train of conſequences, that a *free* government cannot ſubſiſt *with* it. The current of our thoughts being turned to gain, as the God of Plenty, and the Idol of Pleaſure, we have deemed that as a *remedy* for *all diſeaſes*, which ſeems to be in itſelf the greateſt diſeaſe of all, and carrying with it too many marks of a ſpeedy diſſolution.

From the ſame ſource, riches, parade, amuſement, and diſſipation, have been ſo much preferred to the ſober duties of domeſtic life, that the cultivation of *rural* ſimplicity, honeſt zeal, and laborious induſtry, have been left to thoſe only who *can* act but an under part.

How theſe have really performed their part, may be judged of by the conſequences; and it cannot be expected

pected they ſhould perform it well, where they have no light to follow from more exalted ſtations. Where the duties ariſing from thought and deſign, and the exerciſe of humanity and religion are diſplayed in their full luſtre, they will chear the heart, and mend it alſo: they will enlarge the underſtanding, and bring things to the ſtandard of reaſon and virtue. How little theſe duties have been in faſhion, is too melancholy a truth to inſiſt on. I do not mean but that we have a portion of virtue; and we have parted with our money ſometimes with a wanton liberality; but to inſtructing, correcting, and promoting the intereſt and comfort of the people, by ſhewing them what they *ſhould*, and ſhould *not* do, we have not had *time* for ſuch home-bred thoughtful avocations.

What is true of a private family, muſt be true of a million of private families, all following the ſame courſe, with few exceptions only. Our forefathers grew rich by parſimony and attention; will *prodigality* and diſſipation, tho' blended with generoſity, guard their children againſt *poverty*? We cannot continue to enjoy what we conſume beyond the reach of natural encreaſe, nor remain opulent at an unmeaſured expence. Extravagancy will lead us into the temptation of preying upon each other, which is the very thing we ought moſt to guard ourſelves againſt. In *private* life, *diſtruſt* of our virtue is ſometimes the beſt preſervative againſt vice: and in our capacity as ſubjects, we ſhould wiſh to be reſtrained, tho' not by *arbitrary* power.

It will be *happy* for us if we now diſcover the evil, and immediately ſet about correcting ourſelves. It cannot

not be ſaid by the moſt melancholy and deſponding perſon, who is in his right mind, that we are already reduced to a great extremity: *that* will be, juſt as we direct our courſe hereafter.

To guard againſt *ſlavery*, it ſeems neceſſary to remember how eſſential it is that the lower claſſes of mankind *will* and *ſhould*, in the nature of things, ſhare with the higher, in a greater proportion than in countries where men are born in an abject ſtate of ſervility. But the better theſe are taught, the more conſiſtent will their deſires and demands be: and the more eaſily will they ſubmit to neceſſity where the chaſtiſement comes from heaven.

The equal object of a free government is to preſerve both *rich* and *poor*; to prevent their oppreſſing each other; to ſupport ſubordination, and oppoſe any cuſtoms tending to level mens conditions; this being as contrary to the poſſibility of government, as repugnant to the decrees of providence.

That we have inadvertently erred in our politics, by purſuing ſuch meaſures as have driven many ſubjects off the glebe, where they and their fathers earned their bread in huſbandry, is generally allowed—This has deſtroyed the little property of numbers, and put them on a level with what we call the *poor*, which they were not before. The meaſure was calculated for pecuniary profit, not ariſing from conſiderations of humanity; it did not *ſeem* hurtful in *a political view*, but the *event* ſeems to prove that it is injurious to the nation.

That

That individuals may be benefited by the very means that the ſtate is injured, is as evident, as that a ſtate may be benefited though ſome individuals ſhould ſuffer. *Our* characteriſtic is humanity, and it is to be hoped we ſhall not perſiſt in our error, but alter our mode: it muſt be a work of time, and the ſooner we ſet about it, the better chance of a thorough re-eſtabliſhment.

In the mean while, how are we to reſtrain the price of proviſions in a ſcarcity? The farmer expects his price, and trade is *free*. The fear of a mob; the perſuaſion of a landlord; an import from abroad; are conſiderations which may induce him to open his barns: but we cannot regulate the price of grain, as we reſtrain the price of intereſt of money; we muſt in ſome meaſure go with the ſtream.

Here again we ſee the effects of *extravagancy* joined to *liberty*. Cuſtom, and the cultivation of religious and ſocial duties, make men *moderate* in their deſires of gain; but ſuch motives, tho' in a free country, will not operate, unleſs they are taught and cultivated by people of the ſuperior ranks, and by the influence of their *example*. If the example turns on the other ſide, it falls in ſo much with the depravity of human nature, it will be followed, and each will prey on the other.

The law of a man's mind is ſuperior to every other law, and conſcience not more neceſſary among the trafficking part of mankind, than in other human actions; yet, "*guilt ſticks as cloſe to buying and ſelling, as the nail* "*driven between two ſtones:*" conſequently, according to this figurative expreſſion, there is ſo much the more danger

danger of guilt. And in places of great commerce, we accordingly ſee the morals of the people generally ſpoiled, eſpecially in *arbitrary* countries, and where *religion* is converted into a *farce*.

The purity of our conſtitution, and the excellency of our *religion*, *will preſerve us ſo much the longer*; but as a mercantile nation, we are always in danger of degenerating into ſuch a rapacious diſpoſition in our traffic, as tends to weaken the force of conſcience; and in proportion as this decays, the virtue that is eſſential to liberty will decay alſo; ſo that in every view, trade, though founded on liberty, which enriches, has alſo a tendency to enſlave and impoveriſh. And it requires a ſkilful management to ward off this conſequence: an awful reſpect for religion only can do it effectually.

The cuſtoms and manners of this nation are certainly very much altered; and example is more prevalent than precept; yet if we do not correct ourſelves by *choice*, we muſt do it from *neceſſity*, and *that* neceſſity is near our doors, but we do not all ſee it. We may hope our guardians and directors will open our eyes by making us pay handſomely for our *unneceſſary* and *injurious* indulgencies: this may in part remedy the evil.

Taxes, of the nature of ſumptuary laws, not actual ſumptuary laws, ſeem to be required; and many will be glad to be reſtrained, having a good plea, who are now too proud or too irreſolute, or too much enſlaved by cuſtom, to retrench, though conſcious that they are acting an abſurd and pernicious part, equally hurtful to their own reputation, and deſtructive to the welfare of

 their

their wives and children. If we could bring ſuch culprits to the bar of honor and conſcience, and have their accounts ſtated debtor and creditor, by a tribunal of able merchants, we ſhould open the eyes of many thouſands well inclined men, and convince them that they are as poor, reſpecting their manner of life, as thoſe who are really diſtreſſed by the price of bread.

If the nobility and gentry only were under this miſtake in their political and moral conduct, we might have the leſs reaſon to fear any evil; but, unluckily, it reaches down to mechanics, and even the laboring part of the nation. They complain of ſcarcity, and that the ſeaſons have been unfavorable: one *reaſon* of ſuch ſcarcity is, that they never *conſumed* the produce of the earth at ſo great a rate as of late years.

Men's deſires encreaſe with their enjoyments, and that defect, which at one period was not conſidered as any calamity, at another the want of it will appear as a real diſtreſs.

Yours, &c.

The bad Effects of loſing ſo many Subjects in theſe Cities, and ſome probable Remedies to prevent it.

LETTER XXIII.

IT is very apparent that we have four great points in view, as eſſential to our happineſs, if not to our Being: *i. e.* encreaſe in numbers: the cheap maintenance of the people: and in order to promote induſtry, the produce of labor to be vendible to ſtrangers: and our moral and

religious conduct, whereby we may be rendered ſober, vigilant, laborious, and obedient to government. Thus, whilſt the common people promote their own temporal and eternal happineſs, they may recover and eſtabliſh the felicity of the ſtate.

I have attempted to explain to you, what our loſs of ſubjects appears to be in theſe cities, and the latent and more apparent cauſes of it. As new lights dart upon the mind, new matter is ſupplied and freſh informations come to hand, I ſhall think it my duty to communicate them to you. You profeſs yourſelf a friend to the poor; you muſt neceſſarily be ſo to the rich likewiſe.

The conſideration of the loſs or diminution of ſubjects, is ſo intereſting to the cauſe of policy as well as humanity, that it cannot be too much attended to. The evil predominates moſt in theſe cities, as is univerſally confeſſed; and indeed is obvious from the common bills of mortality. The degree of it will appear from the ſhort ſpecimen of the accounts of a few of the beſt and worſt pariſhes as they roſe. I ſend you incloſed the year 1763, which was the firſt full year of the regiſter of the pariſh infant poor under 4 years of age; and as it may be carried on into the year 1764 and 1765, it ſhews moſt diſtinctly what the ſtate of the caſe is; and how far the example may be ſuppoſed to operate on the common people in general of theſe cities; conſequently whence it ariſes; among other cauſes, why there is ſuch a devaſtation of human life.

Name of the Pariſh.	Born and received in 1763 excluſive of thoſe delivered to mothers in the year.	Of whom were illegitimate.	Delivered in 1764 and 1765.	Remain.	Of whom are dead by the end of 1765.
St. Sepulchre - - -	9	3	—	9	— 9
St. Clements Danes -	7	6	—	7	— 7
St. John and St. Margaret's Weſtminſter	32	18	4	28	— 24
St. Andrews above Bars, and St. George the Mar.	59	53	—	59	— 57
St. George Hanover-Squ.	41	19	2	39	— 34
St. James Weſtminſter	12	8	2	10	— 10
St. George Middleſex	4	1	—	4	— 4
St. Martin's in the Fields	31	9	2	29	— 27
St. Luke, Middleſex -	19	9	1	18	- - 7 no acct. of 11
St. George Southwark -	9	4	3	6	— 6
St. James Clerkenwell	18	9	1	17	— 17
St. Giles, and St. George Bloomſbury (*moſtly caſual.*)	50	9	1	49	— 43
	291		16	275	— 256

Thus 256 are dead (including the 11 ſuppoſed dead, as moſt agreeable to the cuſtom of St. Luke's Middleſex) out of 275, in ſo very ſhort a time, that only 19 died after the firſt year's mortality.—This is an exact repreſentation of the ſame tragedy as appears to have been acted half a hundred years ſince, agreeable to an extract of the minutes of the Houſe of Commons in 1716, upon occaſion of an enquiry how the pariſh money was diſpoſed of.

" Mr. Moleſworth, according to order, among other things, reported from the committee appointed to inſpect the poor's rates, That the committee finding it a work of inſuperable difficulty to peruſe, within any competent

competent time, all the books and accounts of the ſaid pariſhes, in ſuch a manner as is neceſſary for the thorough information of this houſe, have thought it more for the publick ſervice, to apply their endeavours principally to thoſe that relate to the maintenance of the poor."

In St. Martin's pariſh, then reputed the beſt, it was found that of 1200 children chriſtened, 900 died in one year. After many other articles, he goes on "That a great many poor infants and expoſed baſtard children, are inhumanly ſuffered to die by the barbarity of nurſes, eſpecially pariſh nurſes, who are a ſort of people void of commiſſeration or religion, hired by the churchwardens to take off the burthen from the pariſh at the cheapeſt and eaſieſt rates they can, and theſe know the *manner* of doing it effectually, as by the burial books may evidently appear (*a*).

It is remarkable that the expences and diſburſements of the churchwardens and overſeers given in for the years 1712, 1713, and 1714, amount to 54481. 10s. 4½d. *excluſive* of all charities to the poor.

A bill in favor of the pariſh poor in general then paſt the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords; ſome of the maſters of ſchools ordered to be under lay-juriſdiction, being clergymen: nothing of this kind is in queſtion at preſent.

From the whole you will judge of the abſolute neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome permanent mode, whereby *poor infants* may be effectually relieved, and their lives preſerved. Whether they be hereafter congregated in Hoſpitals or not, will depend on the public, which may

(*a*) Political State of Great Britain, Vol. xi. p. 331.

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diſpoſe of public children as they think moſt proper: and it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between an Hoſpital, where children are ſo far ſecluded, that they can hardly ſee the difference between graſs and corn, a horſe and a cow; and another where they are familiarized to ſuch ruſtic objects, as ſhall bear a great affinity with the mode whereby they are to get their bread by the ſweat of their brows, the remainder of their days.

In this view it is no wonder that what I told you in one of my former letters ſhould be true (*a*). If ſo *ſpeedy* and ſo *recent* a mortality hath enſued, it can be no matter of ſurprize, that of children received from 1741 to 1762, being 20 years, there ſhould not have lived in ſeveral capital pariſhes above 11, to be placed out apprentices in 1754, 1755, 1761, and 1762, *i. e.* of the claſs of our fellow-ſubjects born and received of and under 12 months old. On the whole account of the ſeveral pariſhes *without the walls of London*, in Middleſex and Surry, and the city and liberties of Weſtminſter, the number of ſuch children preſerved appears to be but 19, and but 36 of thoſe received under 3 years old. The uſual number of the children born and received under 12 months old, appears to be near 500 per ann. ſo that if we take only 12 of the 20 years, the groſs number is 6000. Can we *wonder* then at ſo grievous a havoc, as the encreaſe of the burials on the births, within the bills of mortality, ſo evidently declare?

That the evil lies chiefly on the ſmall number of *births*, and the great number of the *deaths* of infants, is very apparent. The æra which afforded a tranſient tem-

(*a*) Vol. I.

porary

porary relief to ſuch infants was 1756 to 1760; but by the injudicious mode of doing it, by blending it with another object under different circumſtances, this act of humanity ceaſed, as has been fully deſcribed.

The account of 1753 to 1765, by the bills of mortality, is as follows, viz.

	Medium of chriſtenings.	Medium of burials.	Medium of diminution.
1753 1754 1755	15200	21296	6096
When the Foundling Hoſpital was open.			
1757 1758 1759	14171	19497	5326
Since the Hoſpital was ſhut up.			
1763 1764 1765	16102	24191	8089

Hence it appears, that in the courſe of thirteen years there is an encreaſed loſs of one 3d part, viz. 1993 on 6096. If there is not one 3d part encreaſe of inhabitants, then the proportion ariſes from the accumulation of the numbers who do not marry; and the diſſoluteneſs of the common people, particularly in their neglect of infants, among whom the mortality chiefly rages.

The years 1753 to 1755, are immediately preceding the opening of the hoſpital. In the years 1757 to 1759, the hoſpital was open. The number of infants who died under the care of it, were buried out of the bills of mortality; the decreaſe of 770 annually, upon theſe three years, cannot therefore prove much. Almoſt all

the

the parishes in the bills sent their infant poor, and without doubt some other children not belonging to the bills were also secretly conveyed thither by the officers. It is to be presumed, from a view of the subsequent three years, 1763 to 1765, that the number of burials was encreasing, partly from the hospital being shut up, and partly from an encreasing number of inhabitants.

At the close of a war, subjects return home, and the increase of inhabitants must have been considerable, but by no means so great as one third part amounts to. If 8089 are drained off by an excess of mortality, though it is a local evil it affects the whole nation. If numbers go as adventurers to our new conquests, and his Majesty's other American and Asiatic dominions, it behoves us to see what *savings* we can make for such purposes; and rather suffer so many drops of blood to be taken from our hearts, than children to become a sacrifice for want of a necessary expence, within these cities, or any where else.

Neither riches, luxury, nor excess, tend to longevity; and *plagues*, *wars*, *gin*, *foreign dominions*, and domestic neglects of infant poor, unite their force against us.

Let us compute how we will, if the *christenings* remain nearly the same, and the *burials* encrease so as to make an annual additional loss of 1000, or a less number, it must arise from one of these causes; That *marriage* is at a total stop here, *i. e.* that it makes no progress with the encrease of inhabitants; or that numbers of people who have no encrease, come here, equal to the augmentation of the mortality.

Let

Let the number which come here annually be what it may, the greater it is, the more the proportion of mortality upon the births will encreaſe, and the more we ſhall drain the parts of theſe dominions where people might be beſt employed in *agriculture* and *manufactory*. It is not generally the *aged* who come here to die, but people in the *prime* of life, either to go abroad, or ſupply the town with domeſtics, numbers of which are for parade, and too many for proſtitution, and a miſerable, unlamented death.

If to this we add the labor of bringing the neceſſaries of life for a ſuperfluous multitude, congregated on one ſpot, compared with working in the field, or at the loom, we ſhall find the loſs doubled; eſpecially as our cuſtom amounts to a kind of prohibition of marriage to certain ranks of our fellow-ſubjects.

To encreaſe here, as in other places, is far from being impracticable, if we would countenance marriage, and take care of infants. We ought ſurely in every ſhape to provide the ſinews of war, and the means of promoting the arts of peace; and to ſupply a reaſonable quota of the number demanded for the uſe of his Majeſty's dominions in Aſia, Africa, and America. We muſt either do this, or ſuffer in our intereſt in thoſe dominions, or find ſupplies in other quarters of the earth.

If we form a judgment from the profuſion of building, there never was ſuch a rage of deſire to congregate ourſelves, and live in crouds, as at this time; but part of this muſt be imputed to the builder's deſire of gain, which I fear will bring on the ruin of many active

good ſubjects. This event depends on the numbers who live on the intereſt of the public debt. In the mean while, the diminution of our numbers here is ſo great, our encreaſe of buildings will tend to our encreaſe in loſs; and it is much to be wiſhed ſome means could be contrived to turn the current of the inclinations of a part of the people to ſome other ſpot.

There are many beautiful and healthy ſituations in this kingdom: we have acquired an elevated taſte in the diſpoſition of houſes: we underſtand what belongs to ſite, water, ſoil, and plantation. What a delicious town might be formed out of the ſuperfluities of theſe cities! If the inhabitants of ſuch a place were to live chiefly by ſowing and planting the earth, inſtead of ſo immenſe a traffic in *ſplendid idleneſs*, it might be happier for them and us. Such a city might eaſily be maintained by induſtry, in providing London and Weſtminſter more immediately with the neceſſaries of life, and receiving utenſils, foreign produce, or manufactures in return. The idea of a *rural city*, by means of extent of land and ſeparate houſes, is not contradictory, and might have charms far ſuperior to thoſe we enjoy here. I am ſenſible the ſuggeſtion will appear to you romantic, yet I apprehend ſomething of the kind will be done in leſs than half a century, if not from choice, from neceſſity. In ſuch a caſe, the inhabitants of both the *new* city and the *old* ones would marry in greater numbers, as they would be the better enabled to live, and ſtand leſs in each others way.

If men of vaſt fortunes and extenſive genius, who now level mountains, or dig through them, and cut rivers for miles together, would build ſuch a city, and carry part of the inhabitants from hence to people it, we ſhould become ſo much the more numerous, and I apprehend the more happy nation.

We need but look back for one hundred and fifty years, and we ſhall find the burials within the bills of mortality, excluſive of near 200,000 dead by the plague, to be — — — — 2,631,137
The chriſtenings only — — — 1,806,769
Conſequently the diminution of ſubjects, by waſte in theſe cities, is — — 824,368
Including the plague, near — — 1,024,368
This, upon a medium, is annually — 6,829
The number, upon a medium, of the 3 laſt years 1763, 1764, 1765, being — 8,089
If we go on 150 years longer in the ſame proportion, we ſhall loſe — — — 1,213,350

God only knows where we ſhall procure recruits for the ends of luxury, frequency of war, and ſupplies for large and extenſive dominions abroad, unleſs we can find means to render the produce of the earth cheap, and marriage faſhionable. If ſo many cauſes unite their force againſt us, we muſt alter our plan, and either bring ourſelves into a mere phalanx, or uſe means to expand our force, and yet make it formidable.

With regard to the diminution created by theſe cities, can any place boaſt of ſo grand, ſo healthy, ſo advantageous, ſo beautiful a ſituation? If we contemplate the

ſoil, the river, the riſing ground, the neighbouring hills, and the beautiful inequality of ground, in ſpite of this unnatural multitude contracted into ſuch a ſpan, we can hardly obſcure any of its charms. It is true, we have taken pains to render its environs diſpleaſing, both to the ſight and ſmell. The chain of brick-kilns that ſurround us, like the ſcars of the ſmall-pox, make us lament the ravages of beauty, and the diminution of infant aliment; but it may be hoped, in ten or twenty years, we ſhall ſee theſe fields again reſtored to paſture lands, with that plenty of animal nutriment for our children, which our well-watered climate ſo naturally furniſhes. I am yours, &c.

The Loſs of Infant Poor one great Cauſe of the general Loſs in the Bills of Mortality.

LETTER XXIV.

WHether the evil I have repreſented be now greater or leſs than it has been in ages paſt, is not ſo material to enquire, as what meaſures have been taken to redreſs it; how they have operated; and what is yet neceſſary to be done. If the misfortune conſiſts in the great proportion of the death of infants exceeding ſo much what is found to be the rate at the diſtance of ten to forty miles from hence, and we can preſerve a number of ſuch as are thrown upon the public for protection, in ſuch places; will it not be ſtrangely abſurd to neglect ſuch means, and to decline a duty of ſuch importance?

With

With regard to many hundreds of other children, who are ſuffering by the penury and profligacy of their parents, it is our buſineſs to enquire, to perſuade, or to uſe authority, provided the freedom of the ſubject be not violated. By ſuch means a great number of ſuch children may be preſerved. It certainly would be ſo, if the civil magiſtrate were to make a cloſe inſpection, and pariſh officers encourage, by every proper means, thoſe who preſerve their children, ſo that, in addition to natural affection, it might appear to be an honorable duty for the lower claſſes of mankind to ſuſtain their offspring. Theſe hiſtorical and political remarks being brought home *to our own time*, and to our own boſoms, and applicable to our immediate ſubject, now ſo clearly comprehended, and to appearance ſo eaſily rectified, we may at length hope that all difficulties will be ſubdued.

The preſent received opinion is, that we encreaſe in numbers in theſe cities. This is preſumed from the vaſt number of houſes built; the dearneſs of proviſions; the numbers aſſembled in conſequence of the peace; and the acquiſition of dominion by war, which naturally makes theſe cities the reſidence of the people of ſo much a greater empire. The abſtract of the laſt 13 years ſtands thus:

	Chriſtenings.	Burials.
1753 —	15,444 —	19,276
1763 —	15,133 —	26,143
1765 —	16,374 —	23,230

The difference of *burials* for eleven years, from 1753 to 1763, is remarkable, owing, I preſume, to the concourſe

courſe of people upon the peace. But, upon the ſame principle, 3 in 26 of theſe appear in 1765 to have retreated. The year 1765 ſeems to mend a little, for the chriſtenings are encreaſed and the burials decreaſed.

The whole number of burials being — 23,230
if we deduct thoſe of five years of age and under 9,948
the remain of burials is — — — 13,281
which, upon a computation of three fourths, or 525,000 inhabitants above five years old, is but 2½ per cent. proving the mortality to rage only among infants, and ſhowing a probability from this ſmall number that we are fully reckoned at 700,000.

The bulk of mankind delight in the marvellous, and are ingenious in deceiving themſelves. I have heard a Frenchman inſiſt that there is a million of people in *Paris*. I much doubt if there are above 500,000. *Berlin* is one of the populous cities of Germany, but it was not reckoned by the moſt flattering account in 1750, that, excluſive of the ſoldiery, there were above 100,000 inhabitants; and I ſuppoſe, though his Pruſſian Majeſty had then done, and was doing wonders in this great article of grandeur and ſtability, the number of inhabitants in his capital was exaggerated.

Sir William Petty reckons one fourth part of a nation to be under the age of *ſeven years*. But if we were to judge from the Bills of Mortality, near *one half* of mankind are under this age.

I have juſt obſerved, that in 1765 are dead in
all — — — — — — — — — — 23230
Of whom under five years of age — — 9948

Add

Add the ordinary rate of mortality on 9948, of 19 per 1000, allowed for two to ſeven years of age — — — — — — 190

The amount is — — — — — — 10138

The proportion of *ten* on *twenty-three* dying at this tender age, ſo much exceeds the common rate, that it ſhould be but *ten* in *forty*.

It would be contradictory to common ſenſe to ſuppoſe that ten in twenty-three inhabitants, in any populous town, are of ſeven years of age and under. But ſtill Sir William's principle is agreeable to experience. Conſequently, if we ſuppoſe one fourth part of the 23230 dead, to have been ſtrangers and perſons abſent from their wives and families, not having any children born here; batchelors, ſpinſters and domeſtics in a ſtate of celibacy; (theſe now exiſting in a vaſt proportion beyond what Sir William imagined) the difficulty is reconciled. To bring the iſſue to Sir William's principle, there ſhould be dead under ſeven years old but 25 per cent. on 23230, viz. — — — — 5807

But there are dead to this age — — — 10138

The difference is — — — — — — 4331

being ſo many beyond Sir William's computation—I mean on the bills of mortality.

I find, from the concurrent teſtimonies of many accurate informations, which my friends have obliged me with from the country, of which I have informed you, that the deaths (including ſome principal market towns) from ten to forty miles round London, do not exceed a

quarter

quarter part under *ſeven years old*, which correſponds with Sir William's eſtimate.

From all which it appears, that we pay very dearly *in lives*, by not taking proper methods to *counteract* the effects of living in ſuch vaſt crowds.

If one fourth of mankind are under ſeven years of age; and villages, where the air is good, and the nurſes careful, are the proper places for preſerving children, ſurely we ought, if children are of any value, to take advantage of our knowledge.

The burials here under ſeven years of age upon the bills, are above 43 per cent. viz. 10138 on 23230, whereas they are not above 25 per cent. in villages, conſequently we loſe 18 per cent. This is computing on the *whole* common bills of mortality: but when applied in particular to the pariſh infant poor's mortality, inſtead of 18, it may be called 80 or 90; or, if you pleaſe, upon thoſe received under 12 months old, 99.

In every view, the great evil lies in ſo few children being *born*, and in ſo *many* kept here *to die*, the pariſh infant poor conſtituting a conſiderable part of the liſt.

From the ſame cauſe it becomes neceſſary to draw a ſupply from the ſeveral counties of 6 to 8000 annually. This demand for London and Weſtminſter, out of 7,000,000 is but 1 per thouſand; yet if we conſider this number as drawn from the prime of the working youth, and ſuch as are moſt fit for population, to live here in a ſtate of celibacy, it may be reckoned equal to five times the number. This repeated conſtantly every year, with much *greater demands for*

people

people than in former times, muſt in the iſſue operate to our deſtruction.

If we can reduce the price of proviſions, and encourage marriages in theſe cities, ſo that there may be more chriſtenings than burials, Sir William Petty's hypotheſis will correſpond with experience; for it is evident, where only 25 per cent. or a fourth part die under ſeven years of age, a fourth part may be ſuppoſed living. And it is no leſs apparent, that if ſuch fourth part of mankind *may* be preſerved in *a pure* air, and that deaths encreaſe in an improper ſituation, the *more* we deſcend to the lower claſſes of mankind, the *greater* will the evil be; and it is evidently from this cauſe, that great numbers here die at an early period. Where people are ſupplied with neceſſaries, there life is actually preſerved; and if we mean to promote the national welfare, by our *numbers*, we muſt ſearch the receſſes of miſery, and relieve the child directly, or aſſiſt the mother to do it; and if ſhe is not worthy of the truſt, it ſhould be given to another perſon.

It is well known that many children are thrown upon the public, for no better reaſon than that they are *illigitimate*; many becauſe they are *orphans*; ſome as being the children of domeſtic ſervants, unable to provide for them; many born where their parents have no ſettlement; and too many parents are profligate and, neglect their duty to their own offspring.

Conſidering theſe various calamities, and that neither vice nor idleneſs can be imputed to this *fourth part* of mankind, their ſtate and condition is the more inte-

reſting. Inſtead of being ill treated, no part of the poor is ſo worthy of reſpect. Their innocence and diſtreſs claim an awful tenderneſs and regard, beyond any of the children of men paſt this dangerous period. And there is this further reaſon for providing for them, by the means which nature has pointed out; mothers who are aſſiſted to take care of their own offspring at the breaſt, are deſigned to be protected with all due care.

I am yours, &c.

The pernicious Effects of the Neglect of Marriage, in a Moral and Political View.

LETTER XXV.

IT is eaſy to demonſtrate from the ſmall number of chriſtenings, that, amidſt all our pomp and ſhow of affluence in theſe great cities, *marriage* is in a languiſhing condition. At the ſame time we acknowledge this in theory to be the ſpring and ſtream of political inſtitutions, the cement of ſociety, and the beſt defence of the purity required by our religion.

Were we to judge from the number of ſingle perſons of different ranks fit for marriage, within the circle of a large acquaintance, one might almoſt conclude, that this alliance of the ſexes is contrary to the policy and religion of our country: that concubinage and promiſcuous commerce are not repugnant to the law of Chriſt; and that the waſte of the flower of a nation by diſeaſe and early death, or their decay by a profligate habit of intemperance, are entirely agreeable to the political intereſt of our country.

When

When *Auguſtus* complained to the young citizens of *Rome* of their neglect of matrimony, he reminded them that they were doing every thing in their power to ruin their country: and nothing can be more apparent, than the injury created by negligence of this kind; or more fatal than the cuſtoms and manners of a people, when they operate ſo as even to create an oppoſition to the alliance of the ſexes.

Sir *William Temple*, if I remember right, treats courtſhip after the age of forty as improper, if not abſurd: but ſurely an indiſcriminate determination on this head is abſurd. Some men are old at *twenty-five*, and ſome young at *fifty*, whilſt convenience, inclination and ſocial affection branch out the ſubject beyond limitation.

In the ſame manner, the adage "*good men marry early*, wiſe men never;" if it means, that if they do not marry in the moſt proper time, they ſhould conſider well how they marry at all, there is ſenſe in it: but if it denies *goodneſs* or virtue to be man's ſupreme wiſdom, then it is nonſenſe; and this pretended apothegm is but an affectation of the contempt of nature, and of thoſe laws which exceed man's wiſdom, whatever his pride or policy may lead him to believe.

In a free country, the ruling paſſion of each member of the community ſhould always be the national exiſtence and the felicity of poſterity; and when rightly underſtood, theſe are interwoven with preſent advantages. Were it only the ſingle pleaſure of thinking we are doing that which will make others the happier, all political refinements, not founded on ſuch a ſocial principle, will ſerve only

to render us contemptible in the ſight of thoſe who walk in the paths which God and nature have pointed out.

But to draw arguments partly founded in facts, I am to obſerve, that in 1765 the chriſtenings were 16,374. To make out this account, we are to ſuppoſe as many marriages, within a certain number of years, as might produce ſo many births. Whether ſuch contracts were made in the churches within the bills of mortality, or in the circumjacent towns and villages, is very immaterial. Much the greater part of the marriages of the inhabitants of theſe cities are made in ſome or other of the pariſh churches.

Let us then ſuppoſe, upon a medium, that every church produces annually weddings — — — 16
Theſe amount, on 147, to — — 2352
And in 9 years to — — — 21,168
From which deducting one in four as ſterile, being — — — — — 5292
Remain — — — — — 15,976
which, agreeable to the bills, may produce chriſtenings annually — — — 16,374
tho' I apprehend 1 child in 17 is *illegitimate*.

Let us now enquire what portion of 700,000 inhabitants may be married in theſe cities, within the ages of twenty and forty. Here are of males and females, or *pairs* — — — — 350,000
From whom deduct one *fifth* part for thoſe who do not *regiſter chriſtenings* with us, unleſs children are brought as foundlings, orphans, caſual, and occaſional illegitimate: theſe we ſuppoſe to be pairs — — 70,000

Of the remaining 280,000 pairs, deduct as amply as you pleaſe, viz.

51 per cent. under 20 years of age — —	142,800
31 per cent. above 40 years of age — —	86,800
ſtill the remainder amounts to — — —	50,400
who on this medium computation are ſo many pairs in the prime of life, and it amounts to no more than *one* in *three* of theſe pairs, between *twenty* and *forty*, which are —	16,800

which alſo correſponds nearly with the number of children chriſtened, and ſupports this computation.

It muſt be obſerved, that though our women do not generally continue to breed till they are forty, ſome begin much earlier than twenty, and healthy men are young at forty-five, which abundantly allows for the portion of ſterility.

Thoſe who are, and thoſe who are not rich, ingenuouſly plead *poverty* or *pride* in their excuſe for not marrying; and if by pride they mean vice and folly, granting ſome exceptions, their confeſſion muſt be received as fair and candid: But, at the ſame time, it proves our deplorable ſituation in this inſtance.

Nor need we go far for occular proof; we ſee ſuch numbers of young people of beautiful perſons, good educations, and amiable characters unmarried, that the evil may in reality be eſteemed much greater than this computation amounts to.

How far the reſt of the kingdom is influenced by the example of the metropolis, in regard to marriage, I will

not

not undertake to determine. But it is well known, that we make a *faſhion* of every thing, and the higheſt ranks of the people always lead the loweſt in the chains of imitation, be it in wiſdom or folly. To this faſcinating power, we muſt aſcribe many deviations from the paths of our forefathers.

In the caſe before us, we muſt judge from *chriſtenings* and *burials*. In one large market town (*a*) and ſeven villages round it, by an account of three years, there are

chriſtenings — — — — —	610
burials — — — — —	525
ſo that, inſtead of a diminution of per cent. —	30
as on the births, in theſe cities, here is an encreaſe of near per cent. — — —	14

conſequently we muſt ſuppoſe the marriages to be proportioned.

In another place (*b*) on 20 years, we find as follows:

Chriſtenings — — — — —	864
Burials — — — — —	660
Encreaſe per cent. full — — —	23
Marriages — — — — —	149
of which the laſt 10 years — — —	98
which I call per ann. — — — —	10
This place having children born on a medium per ann. — — — — —	40

may be preſumed to ariſe from the ſucceſſive marriages of 8 or 9 years. Be this as it may, if a village or little town has 700 inhabitants, and produces per ann. marriages — — — 10

Theſe

(*a*) Maidſtone, Vol. I. page 216.
(*b*) Vol. I. pages 117 and 118.

Theſe cities, having 700,000 inhabitants,
ſhould produce — — — — 10,000
whereas there doth not appear to be above — 2352

I wiſh meaſures were taken to make it apparent how many there are; that we may not think ourſelves well if we are not, nor yet ignorant of the nature of our diſeaſe.

It were much to be wiſhed, that a regiſter of births, burials and weddings, in all the cities and market towns in the kingdom, were annually tranſmitted to the Company of Pariſh Clerks here, of which I ſhall tell you more hereafter. As to villages, they will not admit of a compariſon with the metropolis.

The evil undoubtedly reigns moſt in cities and great towns, where the inhabitants follow nature leaſt. A high opinion of great wealth, and the expences which this opinion hath introduced, militate againſt nature and religion. The *glitter* of life dazzles ſo much, that men loſe ſight of the *comforts* of it; and the beſt-grounded hopes of happineſs here and hereafter, too often give place to a ſilly fondneſs of the applauſe of each other, in caſes which we can never think of attentively, without a ſecret ſelf-contempt. When we diſcover that others are not ſo rich as they pretend to be, the folly is the greater: but when we find the miſapplication of riches brings on great miſchiefs, thoſe who are *not rich* may draw a double conſolation. Men often act as if life conſiſted in the abundance which they poſſeſs; whereas the Son of God has declared juſt the contrary.

So far as riches prove hurtful to morals and population, in the iſſue they will bring on diſtreſs, decay, and poverty;

poverty; inſomuch, that we may almoſt ſay of our opulency, ſuch as it is, what Mr. *Addiſon* has put into the mouth of his *Cato*, concerning the good qualities of *Julius Cæſar*, which, however plauſible and captivating in the eyes of the multitude, tended to the deſtruction of the commonwealth:

"*Curſe on our riches, they'll undo our country!*"

Philoſophers diſpute whether, as Lord *Bacon* obſerves, all things ſhould be referred to virtue or to pleaſure; but this *ſage* declares, that *money* is the inſtrument of both. And ſo it is; but whilſt we complain of the effects of luxury, and every one computes how *much*, rather than how *little* he ſhall ſpend, the ſecret ſeems to be diſcloſing itſelf; that although, upon the compariſon with moſt other nations, we are truly opulent, yet we live as if we were much richer than we are. We certainly are not ſo *curſedly* rich, but that we may live very comfortably, and enjoy a large portion of happineſs, in a married ſtate; and whilſt we remain free, we ſhould conſult the good of the whole. It is alſo neceſſary, that individuals ſhould compute, how much *riches* happineſs requires, and how much *wealth* fantaſtical notions of pleaſure demand; the enchantment will be then diſſolved, and marriage will be more in faſhion.

If we loſe the method of computing, in the ſame manner as we are apt to forget what portion of virtue is neceſſary to the poſſeſſion of ſo much liberty, we ſhall increaſe the difficulty, if we do not render it inſurmountable.

Well

Well then, let young perſons, who have the world before them, though at moſt their time is *ſhort*; let ſuch in whom the principles of human affections, and a capacity of reaſoning upon happineſs, are not extinguiſhed, contemplate whether the Author of nature intended them for each other or not: What artificial happineſs they can ſubſtitute for natural and ſocial enjoyments, in the good and evil of life, to encreaſe their pleaſures and diminiſh their pains: Whether they have any regard for their country or not; and conſequently, whether they are *juſtly* entitled to the falſe liberty of doing as their fancy dictates?

If in general, in theſe vaſt cities, two in three in the prime of life are unmarried, it may probably amount to *four* in *five*, or five in ſix, among the higher claſſes. If theſe are enchanted with a rich wardrobe, and the tinſel parade of a *gala* ſuit; if the ſtructure of a chariot, and the pomp of a modern luxurious dinner, captivate their hearts, and they will learn only from *experience*, they muſt *try* theſe irkſome vexations and fruitleſs efforts to pleaſe themſelves, or rather to pleaſe thoſe whom, perhaps, they neither love nor fear: they muſt be condemned to the *drudgery* of *ſeeking* applauſe, which, if they find, is good for *nothing* but to generate more folly of the ſame kind.

When the ſexes have mutually compared their abilities to be arrogant or humble, *proudly* wretched, or *contentedly* joyful; when they have examined the duties they owe to Nature, to God, and to their Country, they will then determine what part to act on the ſtage of life.

It would be a vain taſk for the ſexes to recriminate on each other, at the very moment they mean to promote a treaty of amity. To ſay the men are the moſt daringly vicious, or the women moſt unquietly vain, will avail but little: But ſurely there never was a learned, ingenious, civilized nation, which preferred the *ſhadow* of pleaſure, to the *ſubſtance* of happineſs, ſo much as we do.

If native modeſty, real knowledge, or unaffected purity of manners, can captivate an intelligent heart; in ſpite of the *paint* and *forwardneſs*, and vanity and pride, which are often found, we may boaſt of the moſt amiable women in the world, and I believe the moſt beautiful too; ſo that our refinements are the more abſurd and contradictory to that good ſenſe for which we are famed: But money!—*money*, and the *parade of life*, have thrown down all theſe diſtinctions, and only the few diſcern between this kind of good and evil. I am yours, &c.

A comparative View of the Marriages of theſe Cities, and in Tuſcany and Paris.

LETTER XXVI.

IT is a matter of uſe as well as curioſity, to compare the different parts of the chriſtian world in particular inſtances. We ſhall ſee that the poorer nations often act, as if they depended on Providence and their labor, much more than the richer, who are more abſorbed in the gratification of their pride and luxury; and that they give dowries to the poor to marry, inſtead of charging 12 or 13 s. fees, as it coſts here by the *marriage act*.

In

In regard to the number I ſuppoſed to be unmarried between the ages of twenty and forty within the bills of mortality, it appeared to be at leaſt two in three. In the dukedom of *Tuſcany*, I find the inhabitants who are numbered, ſtand thus:

Married men and women — —	286,289
Unmarried men and women — —	371,222
Boys and girls — — — —	248,185
Churchmen, prieſts, monks, and hermits,	17,576
Nuns — — — — —	9,349
	932,621
Proteſtants — — — — —	285
Jews — — — — —	8,977
People in Tuſcany — — —	941,883

To form a compariſon of theſe cities and the dukedom of Tuſcany, the account ſtands thus:

Computed inhabitants within the bills —	700,000
Deduct, ſuppoſed to be diſſenters, who do not marry with us, *one fifth* — —	140,000
Remain — — — — —	560,000
Married (between 20 and 40) *computed* on our chriſtenings — — —	34,132
Unmarried — — — —	240,268
Perſons under 20 years of age — —	285,600
Computed inhabitants of the eſtabliſhed church, who regiſter chriſtenings within the bills of mortality — — —	560,000

	London and *Weſtminſter* per cent.	Tuſcany per cent.
Under 20 years of age, unmarried, ſet againſt the Tuſcan boys and girls	51	26½
Married on the whole number —	6	30
Unmarried on the whole number	94	70

Great part of the *Tuſcan* marriages appear to be earlier than 20, for the number of their *boys* and *girls* do not correſpond to above half the number of our fellow-ſubjects, on the real rate of deaths under 20, in the bills of mortality.

Were *we* to double the 6 per cent. *for elder people and younger people*, and make in all, married perſons — — — — 68,264

And as in the Tuſcan account there muſt be ſome under 20, and many above 40, let us allow more — — — — 11,736

In all — — — — — 80,000

It will not then make a third of the number of the Tuſcan married perſons, they being 286,289

At the ſame time it is worthy obſervation, that near *three* per cent. of their whole people are in a ſtate of celibacy from motives of ſuperſtition.

If the *Tuſcans* were as prolific as in more temperate climates; if they underſtood the proper methods of nurſing, and had the conveniencies we enjoy, they would ſoon ſtock their country. But as it ſeems to be our *national*, or at leaſt *city crime*, to *neglect* marriage, it is theirs to *abuſe* it. They do this to a degree that kicks at Heaven; or, as if they were totally *ignorant* of the Chriſtian law.

We generally find the chaſteſt pairs are the moſt attentive to their offspring, and that the profligate regard them very little: ſo we may ſuppoſe the Tuſcans not only breed leſs, but take leſs care of their children.

We may alſo learn ſomething uſeful by comparing our accounts of the bills of mortality, and thoſe of our neighbors the *French*.

	From 1728 to 1738.	In 1764.
I find the *births* in *Paris* at a medium per ann. were —	18,688	19,439
The *burials* at a medium —	17,804	18,034

ſo that the *French* ſeem to gain 1149, or per cent. 6
while we loſe here per cent. at leaſt — 30

In one large pariſh in *Paris* I have the following account, which, compared with the bills of mortality, is as follows:

Years of age inclusive.	On a number of deaths in one pariſh in Paris.	Dead per cent. in Paris.	On our bills of mortality in 1765.	Dead per cent. on our bills.
1 to 2	1391	$46\frac{3}{4}$	23,230	$34\frac{3}{4}$
3 to 5	——	$5\frac{3}{4}$	——	8
6 to 10	——	$3\frac{3}{4}$	——	$3\frac{1}{2}$
11 to 20	——	4	——	4
		$60\frac{1}{4}$		$50\frac{1}{4}$

Whence it ſhould follow, that Paris is leſs healthy than London for *infants*; but having many more children born, and ſent out to nurſe, gains in ſubjects.

It is true, the climate at Paris is ſofter, and there is no ſulphur from ſea-coal, but frequently ſevere weather. The diet of the French alſo is lighter, but they want milk for their children. Their houſes are high, their

ſtreets

ſtreets narrow, and they want common ſewers: theſe are diſadvantages which we do not ſuffer in the ſame degree.

According to the cuſtom of the *Pariſians*, many of their infants are ſent into the country to be nurſed, in a greater proportion than we ſend them, ſo that either their lives are preſerved, or their deaths kept out of their bill of mortality, which is one cauſe of the great ſuperiority they enjoy or ſeem to enjoy over us.

I am perſuaded, however, they are wiſer than we are in reſpect to *marriage*. They do not refine ſo much. I ſay this, becauſe I ſee an account of the married in the nine years, between 1728 and 1738 — 37,015

The half of theſe being pairs, are — 18,507

and might bring into the world children — 18,688

and if we ſet the illegitimate born againſt the ſterile in marriage, and the acceſſion of new people coming to *Paris*, whilſt others dropt off, it is eaſy to account for 18,688 births from ſuch marriages.

If we judge from the appearance of that city and theſe, we can allow *Paris* but — — 500,000

Ourſelves — — — 700,000

Upon a comparative view we may reaſonably conclude, that the inhabitants here are moſt numerous by 2 in 7, and yet their marriages are ſo many more than ours, that they have on their bills full 18 births to our 16.

The French are ſaid to live in greater numbers in their houſes; and if we give them 10, and ourſelves only 7, the number is made out. There are many houſes in London and Weſtminſter, where the cellars and garrets are fully inhabited, and I preſume, both here and there,

many

many ſmaller buildings are inhabited by 3 or 4 people. According to the French accounts, and alſo the beſt I have of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, they ſtand thus:

Paris.		London and Weſtminſter.
50,000	Houſes	105,000 (*a*)
52	Pariſhes	147
20	Pariſh churches	146
21	Collegiate chapels, not parochial	184 (*b*)
80	Churches and chapels, ditto	
11	Abbies	Monaſtry ſo called 1
53	Convents	
70	Nunneries	
57	Colleges	Colleges & ſchools 24
15	Seminaries	
12	Priſons	12
26	Hoſpitals	32 (*c*)
500	Hotels	254 (*d*)
12,000	Coaches	*Too many.*
18,688	Births per annum *on a medium*	16,374
17,804	Burials per annum *ditto*	24,700
None.	Pariſh rates per ann.	*about* £. 130,000

Upon which it may be remarked, that the abbies, convents, and nunneries, if they contain 150 perſons each,

(*a*) Maitland makes it but 95,968 in 1737, but the encreaſe muſt be near a tenth part.

(*b*) 71 of the eſtabliſhed church; 28 Preſbyterians; 11 Quakers; 19 French; 11 Dutch; 24 Independants; 6 Methodiſt; 6 Popiſh; 3 Synagogues.

(*c*) There are ſeveral others beſides.

(*d*) We have many grand houſes not reckoned; in this account are 164 inns, 10 inns of court, 56 companies halls, and other capital buildings.

each, make 20,100, having made vows of celibacy, and, if we judge from the births, prove that the other ſubjects marry in ſo much the greater numbers.

In computing *two ſeventhſ* more in theſe cities than in Paris, our number of births ſhould be — 24,026
Whereas our chriſtenings, as mentioned, are but 16,374
And with one fifth addition for diſſenters but — 19,628
But the burials in Paris *on the ſuppoſed* 500,000 being 17,804
Ours on 700,000 ſhould be — — — 24,925
and they *are* very nearly ſo many, which gives a probability to the computation, and a ſtrong preſumptive evidence that we are 700,000, at leaſt in the winter time. If Paris ſends many infants into the country to be nurſed, it muſt leſſen her bill of mortality. I alſo conceive that ſhe is not ſo healthy for adults as we are, tho' ſome think the contrary. But it is apparent to me that the great difference in favor of Paris is with regard to her number of births being ſo near ours, as 18,688 to 19,628, (giving to ourſelves the utmoſt) or 1 in 18, which muſt ariſe from the greater number of her marriages.

As to a concourſe of people for commerce or pleaſure, or public buſineſs, who create additional deaths, the French muſt have in proportion as many as ourſelves.

The *French* are fantaſtical enough; but I believe they are generally leſs dupes to prodigality and expence, eſpecially in their middle ranks of Burghers; and it ſeems to be proved that they are leſs deterred from marriage than we are. Upon the whole, we may infer, that granting us to have *two ſeventhſ* more inhabitants than they, their number of marriages *at Paris* actually exceeds ours in theſe cities.

I grant

I grant, as ſome pretend, the practice of *man*-midwifery may happen to kill a *child*, when the *woman*-midwife would kill the *mother*; and that *women* did very well for our great-grand-mothers; but I can hardly credit the ſuppoſition that many children are killed in the birth, whom women would have preſerved. To form an idea how far it can be thought that our numbers have decreaſed as man-midwifery has encreaſed, we ſhould ſee how many there are of the profeſſion, and how many children have died under their hands, before we can judge in ſo nice a caſe. Surgery is arrived to a height in France: How they ſtand as to midwifery, I know not.

I obſerve that common proſtitutes ſeldom outlive 30 years; the French have full as many as ourſelves, and are greater libertines in *irreligion:* Whether they are ſo daring and intemperate in vice, I know not. Our genius leads us to exceſs more than theirs.

We have greatly the advantage of them in the chaſtity of our women in general, who are more awed by cuſtom, and a ſenſe of honor, and piety. They do not dreſs and daub *religion* ſo much like a common miſtreſs, but eſteem it as an eternal and immutable law, by which they muſt ſtand or fall for ever. The truth is, if our women *talk* leſs, they *think* more; and are for the moſt part better educated. When we imitate the *French*, it is generally in fooliſh, or indifferent things.

Still it appears upon the face of this account, and I know not where to find a better *data*, that they are *wiſer*, inaſmuch as they do not refine ſo much; nor, ſorry am I to ſay it, ſacrifice their affections to *their*

vanity as we do ours. We act as if we meant to attempt to mend the works of God, and ſubſtitute ſomething in the room of human affections.

I think it is evident the French marry more generally in Paris than we do in *London*, ſuch *vaſt numbers* of *us* aſpiring to make a certain parade of expence, and therefore decline marriage on that account.

As we have begun to *number our houſes* in the city of London, it might be right to take an exact account as follows:

1. The number of both ſexes between 18 and 40, unmarried, diſtinguiſhing all laboring people, mechanics and ſervants, in one claſs.

2. Shopkeepers in another claſs.

3. All others, of whatever denomination, in a third claſs.

I mean this *but for once only*, and to form a general idea of the ſtate of the evil as it now ſtands.

We ſhould alſo have a conſtant annual account of the number of *weddings* in the bills of mortality, that it might be more clearly ſeen from what cauſe proceeds ſo *great* a deficiency in *chriſtenings* compared with *burials*, and what encouragement might poſſibly be given, or what law enacted to promote *marriage* and prevent the decreaſe which muſt produce national decay.

I am yours, &c.

Obſervations on the Deficiency of Marriage in the Bills of Mortality.

LETTER XXVII.

WHILST we complain of the neglect of matrimony, the marriage-act naturally recurs to the mind. This Law, though generally objected to, ſeems, as I have already obſerved, (*a*) to be a ſalutary regulation for a ſober, well-diſciplined people; with us it runs retrograde in ſome places. We might, however, eaſily know its operation by the number of marriages regiſtered annually within the bills of mortality for a few years antecedent to the act; and the number which have been ſolemnized within the ſame ſpace of time ſubſequent to the enacting this law. By ſuch means we might form a judgment of the fitneſs of it. But if it does not anſwer here, it may operate happily on the Nation in general, which ſhould alſo be enquired into. It is ſaid to be expenſive, and that a man muſt pay 10 or 12 s. it were better to give him ſo much for ſo good a ſervice.

If, in certain inſtances, we cannot adapt the minds of a people to a law, we muſt accommodate the law to the people, eſpecially if experience ſhould teach us the juſt diſtinction how far to perſiſt or recede. But every law which is calculated for good order ſhould with caution be departed from: This is found to be a wholeſome maxim in all countries, but particularly in ours.

It is always neceſſary to reſtrain the precipitate raſhneſs of giddy youth; but it is objected, that if we create

(*a*) Vol. I.

delays in marriage among the common people, it will endanger their changing their minds, and good policy requires our providing as much as poſſible againſt the mutable temper which characteriſes our nation, and which ſhould be conſidered in our political regulations. This argument is ſpecious, but it operates both ways, for among the *common people*, and *others* alſo, marriages made in a great hurry, are ſoon violated; and the parties not having *conſidered* what they were about, are apt to run into boundleſs exceſſes. The *paſſion* which led them in one caſe, leads them in another.

That luxury abounds moſt in great cities, and vicious exceſſes have a natural tendency to ſhorten mens lives, and prevent procreation, is beyond all doubt. But is it poſſible, in a proſperous ſtate, to preſerve ſuch order and political œconomy as may reſiſt the poiſonous effects of opulency? And ſhall we complain of the bad conſequences of much riches, and in the ſame breath confeſs that we *cannot marry* becauſe we have not riches enough?

It might be of ſome uſe to us to know how this matter ſtands in the great cities of *Germany*, eſpecially where liberty is not ſwallowed up.——By the beſt accounts from *Italy*, the proper inhabitants of their cities encreaſe, though they are not ſkilful in the management of infants, and in general much poorer, and more vicious than we are. But they have very conſiſtent notions, inaſmuch as they make it a *religious* duty, in ſome places, to give portions to poor young women, in order to their marriage. ——The Italians are not ſerved by female domeſtics

as we are, and consequently there is the less employment for women.——Two in a hundred, or, if we take the prime of life, equal to *four* in a hundred of the *Tuscan* women, are drained off to be shut up in nunneries.

To compensate for this political inconveniency, and likewise for the want of commerce, men-servants in their families are very numerous; and whether it is that the master considers what disorders arises from libertinism, or that a state is threatened with dissolution where there are *restraints* on marriage; instead of a servant being rejected because he is married, he is oftentimes rejected because he is not married; domestics are accordingly allowed to sleep out of their master's house.

Our grandeur seems to be at its meridian height: We begin to find that we cannot serve *God* and *Mammon*. Our country demands one thing; our convenience, *according to our plan of refinements*, requires another: Which shall we chuse? We know that, so far from our stock of men being *inexhaustible*, there is now a complaint of want: and no wonder, if we consider all circumstances. The two last wars could not waste less than 300,000 of our best men; yet we can by no means submit to make such a sacrifice to humanity or public welfare, as these Italians, whom we affect to despise, offer at their altars.——As to the aged, and children, and vagabonds, it is evident that either we have too many people, or that we do not sufficiently attend to their being kept employed; and the latter will be found to be the case.

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With regard to *our domeſtic ſervants*, within the bills of mortality, were we to ſuppoſe our number to be only 650,000 inhabitants, and every thirteenth perſon in that rank, then there would be 50,000, or pairs 25,000
Of theſe may probably be of the age of 20 to 40 15,000
May we not compute that of the 15,000 there are in a ſtate of celibacy full 20,000, or pairs 10,000

They imitate their maſters, who are either not inclined to marriage, or afraid to engage in it.

As to our female fellow ſubjects (not being too high bred in the parade of life) they are more inclined to marriage, and ſo far *better friends* to nature and their country than the men are.

If the above computation be nearly true, this number amounts to a conſiderable part of thoſe, whom I ſuppoſed in my former letter, on the comparative view of *Tuſcany*, to be uſeleſs to the community as to the matter of increaſe.

Theſe 10,000 pairs of domeſtics alone, might, according to the American computation, double their numbers in 25 years, but ſurely in the courſe of half a century they might muſter an army of 20,000 fighting men; and it is probable they *would* do ſo, if they were encouraged inſtead of *diſcouraged* in the article of marriage. They would not refine ſo much, but follow nature; nay, they would ſubmit to terms, and acquieſce in their children being early trained to induſtrious purſuits, whereby they might be prevented from being any incumbrance on the community.

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We often complain of the great want of virtue in our domeſtics; we mean to ſecure their fidelity to us, and to the community; but at the ſame time we throw aſide almoſt the only good ſecurity they can give for either. We have, indeed, nearly aboliſhed a cuſtom which tended to deſtroy all diſtinction: I mean the ſilly, inhoſpitable, inconvenient, vexatious and corrupt cuſtom of *vails-giving*; taking our own ſervants under our own protection, and letting them know what they have to depend on, and on whom they are to depend. This is a meaſure of the greateſt good ſenſe and utility, and, in the iſſue, calculated for the mutual benefit of maſter and ſervant; let us next encourage their marriage and their fear of God.

As to the eſtimation our ſervants are in with us, which is a very weighty concern in the peace of domeſtic life, they are more reſpectable in themſelves as huſbands and wives, fathers and mothers, than as ſingle perſons, and ſurely more valuable as members of the community.

The major part of theſe fellow-ſubjects are drained from the country, where they would be uſefully employed, whereas great numbers of them ſerve here only for *parade*. But granting many to be neceſſary to conveniency and eaſe; and that ſome muſt be made a ſhew of to attract the eyes of the *little vulgar*, and keep them in a decent awe, it is very hard upon them, and upon our country, that we cannot have a brood of children born on the ſpot, of the ſame rank in life. Muſt they be for ever taken from the places where they would furniſh bread for themſelves and us? Muſt they

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be always tempted to leave the country, where they would marry, to be condemned, under pain of our high diſpleaſure, to remain as uſeleſs as friars and nuns? Shall we exult over Papiſts on this very account, and at the ſame time act a more abſurd part?

If, by the force of good-living, they ſometimes come together, how many murderous tricks are played to create abortions! And what has the man before his eyes but to collect 5 l. or if he is in a very good ſervice, 10 l. in order that the child may be received by the pariſh—— *to die*, and it ſurely dies accordingly, without any ſenſe of mercy, or of the value of the ſubject. This anſwers no other purpoſe than to furniſh employment for coffin makers.

In the mean while we forget the *value* of the labor loſt by theſe domeſtics being drained from the country, as well as the value of the child. As individuals, we do every thing that *is*, and too many of us do every thing that *is not good*, for the ſake of *money*; but in our capacity as members of the community, we either overlook the *inſtrument of all our gain*, or leave it entirely to hazard. Nothing which is the object of government and police can ſurely be more deſerving attention than the article of marriage, and the preſervation of the lives of children.

One of our great misfortunes in theſe cities is, that we affect to deſpiſe our bills of mortality: We ſuppoſe *great multitudes* born which are not regiſtered; it is well if it amounts to a *fifth* or ſixth part. We ſuppoſe *all the burials* are entered; the contrary plainly appears to be true;

true; and we are moſt indubitably in circumſtances, with regard to this tenth or eleventh part of the nation congregated on this ſpot, of ſuffering a loſs annually of 6 to 8000 ſubjects; and if this will not awaken us to exert our utmoſt powers for the common good, it muſt be concluded that we are either groſsly impious and negligent of our duty to ourſelves; or groſsly ignorant as to the object of our true intereſt.

I am yours, &c.

Marriage, Encreaſe, Support, Comfort, Happineſs, Reputation, and ſound Philoſophy, inſeparably united.

LETTER XXVIII.

THE encreaſe of all that is ſubſtantially good amongſt us, depends on our numbers of working people, and theſe upon the removal of real grievances. — It affords too much reaſon to fear that *induſtry* declines, when many of all ages and conditions cry out. If half the ſum devoted to the *poors rate* could be diſpoſed of to thoſe who ſtand ſtill for want of work, would not both kinds of poor, who are objects of public commiſſeration, be effectually provided for? — Such is our ſituation in ſome meaſure, that though we have need of many more ſubjects, we cannot feed thoſe we have, but at an expence they complain of; and how ſhall they marry and become parents, if they cannot find food for themſelves? If they complain of diſtreſs where there is none, or of a great deal where there is but little, the complaint itſelf becomes a diſtreſs. Where the evil is

not in the thing itſelf, but in the mind, it requires more art to cure ſuch a diſtemper, than to find a remedy for a real diſeaſe. To draw the line with ſkill, and determine the boundaries of both, and open our eyes to real danger where it exiſts, requires that kind of ſenſe and virtue which degenerate ages ſeldom produce. But is there not ſtill ſo much candor and ſenſe, ſo much private virtue and public love remaining amongſt us, that we may hope Heaven will anſwer our petitions when we pray with ſincerity to be delivered from evil?

That the encreaſe of the inhabitants of a country ariſes from the cheap means of living in ſuch country, the vaſt encreaſe in America abundantly proves. Our eyes are more open to our intereſt than they have been for ſome years paſt; and if we mark what paſſes for ten or twenty years to come, ſuppoſing we ſhould act a conſiſtent part, we ſhall ſee men grow up like cabbages in a garden; but it cannot be by rendering the glebe, or raw material, dear: it muſt not be by raiſing of rents, that whilſt ſome want bread, others may revel in a profuſe expence.

It is very obvious, that where land, to produce the ſupport of life, is eaſily obtained, and vicious cuſtoms do not counteract the bounties of Providence, there *men* will follow the beheſt of nature; they will encreaſe and multiply, and repleniſh the earth. On the other hand, if land grows continually dearer in value; if in a courſe of time the produce of it comes into few hands; if induſtry is checked by the dependency of numbers, who were accuſtomed to rent ſmall farms, but are become ſervants to rich farmers; ſo far as this is the caſe, we muſt expect

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one of theſe two things, either a ſmaller number of people will marry, or a greater number of children will be thrown on the public to be ſupported by pariſh rates, and we ſhall be either way greatly diſtreſſed, and our glory ſullied.

It will alſo follow, that either theſe children will die for want of care, or men of property muſt be taxed for their ſupport, whether by a poor's rate or ſome other way.—Both theſe events will probably happen. On the other hand, it is our intereſt to cultivate, in the loweſt minds, a repugnance to any dependance but on the work of their own hands. Men who are born free ſhould endevor to preſerve their children by induſtry.

Nor are pariſh rates effectual in all caſes to the preſervation of lives. The pariſh officer being terrified with the apprehenſion of an accumulating expence, inſtead of encouraging marriage among the laboring part of our fellow-ſubjects, thinks it his duty to obſtruct it: and as ſurely as he is afraid of the charge, he will keep every child out of his pariſh, as he would ſhut his gates againſt a fox or a mad dog. And where this principle predominates, how can we expect encreaſe?

How eaſy it is, even for a wiſe nation, in an enlightened age, to degenerate into the barbariſms of antient paganiſm. The liberty of parents to expoſe their children, prevailed in the politeſt ages of antiquity; but we know that the people who thus expoſed them, or were left to their choice to do it, were *pagans*. Our religion inſpires us with higher ſentiments: it leaves the Great Author of nature to diſpoſe of his creatures, when

a ſuperfluity of them abounds, in the manner moſt agreeable to *his* wiſdom. But when men are *wanted in a ſtate*, to ſuffer children to periſh, or not to encourage wedlock, is a political phrenzy.

It is not wonderful, that our improvements in arts, and the various modes of embelliſhing life, ſhould create a profuſion of expence among great numbers of people, and conſequently individuals be left without an ability of contributing a reaſonable quota to the ſupport of their own ſpecies, the nobleſt workmanſhip of the ſupreme artiſt, and ſovereign Lord of all. But when they reflect, that without *the poor* they can have no ſecurity for their own exiſtence, more than the eyes and head can have for the whole body, when hands and legs are wanting, *extravagancy* alſo is *phrenzy*.

The truth is evident, beyond all contradiction, that when we are prodigal in expence in things which are merely ornamental, we become illiberal in things eſſential to the ſupport of the community. This frequently happens, and may be carried to a degree that will not only operate againſt *population*, but againſt *humanity* itſelf.

This is one of the fatal effects of luxury, in the criminal ſenſe of it. But when our intereſt is underſtood with regard to the true ſource of opulency, joined to the ſeveral views of religion, humanity and policy, though it cannot, in all reſpects, be a ſubject for a national law, every citizen may make a law for himſelf, and act agreeable to the dictates of his own mind. He may be

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contented if he is thought *whimſical*, provided he be *rational*, and purſue the good of his country.

We ſhould then ſee a conſiderable encreaſe of chriſtenings, and a decreaſe of the number of burials within the bills of mortality, and prevent the loſs of one million two hundred thouſand ſubjects, fairly recorded to be loſt, together with their encreaſe, upon our preſent plan within the bills of mortality, in one hundred and fifty years paſt.

In a fertile, free, and healthy country, nothing but falſe policy in the higher claſſes, parochial tyranny, or an abandoned courſe of life among the common people, can, humanly ſpeaking, prevent encreaſe. But we muſt diſtinguiſh what is our *prime object*; whether it be the love of our country, or the love of ſomething at enmity with national happineſs. Before we can purſue right meaſures, we muſt act upon right principles, not by humor or accident.

In ſome parts of North America, where the means of living is provided in the moſt liberal manner by the bountiful hand of Providence, and the people live according to nature; it is ſaid they double their number in 25 years; and how many pairs with us might have quadrupled their numbers in leſs time. If we indulge the paſſion of aſſembling vaſt numbers to live on one ſpot, we ſhall diminiſh the faſter; and whilſt we live in ſplendor beyond what our natural powers can bear, as the eyes expoſed to a great light grow dim, we ſhall paſs through our meridian ſun, and decline. Our fertility of ſoil will be the ſame, but not our liberty. We ſhall

need

need defence againſt ourſelves, or againſt foreign enemies.

Every century furniſhes ſome great change in *our* ſituation: is it not moſt reaſonable to believe, from the age we live in, as to knowledge and the remains of virtue, that the change will be to correct our follies and vices, recover the energy of government, and the felicity of individuals?

Though the eyes of all the world are open to the benefits of trade, yet, ſo long as we preſerve ſuch connections with our American fellow-ſubjects as are for our *mutual* intereſt and happineſs, we ſhall not want employment: encreaſe will follow, and we ſhall ſee many more halcyon days. But, in order to do this, we muſt return, in ſome meaſure, to that ſimplicity of manners in which encreaſe, comfort, neceſſaries, the ſupport of the indigent, and the preſervation of them from all kinds of miſery, are the firſt objects; the vanity, parade, and ornamental trappings of life, being only in the ſecond rank.

But *can* this be done without ſuppreſſing the arts? I think it may. If men act according to their fortunes, they may appear with magnificence, and yet ſuffer no diminution of their virtue. Our great defect at preſent ſeems to be in a ſuperfluity of *fine ſenſe*, and a great ſcarcity of *common ſenſe*. A man who has five hundred pounds a year, thinking his merit entitles him to one thouſand pounds, may ſpend according to his ſuppoſed deſervings; but if he is involved in difficulties, he will be tempted to ſet his neighbor's houſe in a blaze, rather than

than be obſtructed in purſuing the object of his pride, his avarice, or ambition. Our greateſt *reproach* ſhould be, when we live beyond our fortunes; for though we have been complimented by ſome of the greateſt *genius's* of other countries, as a *nation of philoſophers*, yet we have ſo far forgotten ourſelves as to be moſt anxious about vaſt poſſeſſions: we ceaſe to remember that our tenure of life is ſhort and precarious; and that moderate wealth, with great virtue, is a much better inheritance for our children, than a profuſion of riches with leſs integrity.

This would alſo teach us, that in the compoſition of a real great man, or in common life of a true great mind, neither pride, nor avarice, nor yet ambition not directed to the ſervice of mankind, have any ſhare. This is *common ſenſe*; the farther from which we depart, the nearer we ſhall approach to our deſtruction.

I am yours, &c.

The waſte of Gold and Silver, through the Inadvertency or Ignorance of Individuals, next to the waſte of Men.

LETTER XXIX.

IT is a doctrine which we have not yet learnt, that, as the ingenious artiſt, Hogarth, deſcribed the analyſis of *beauty* as a crooked line, the analyſis of *commerce* is, I humbly conceive, ultimately reducible to gold and ſilver. Paper is an admirable commodity, being marked with certain ſignets; as a ſlip of ſilk given by a monarch is an honorable badge; but both may be truſted too far, and in too great a degree. As to gold and ſilver, inſtead

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of taxing of plate, which is a reaſon for not keeping any for an emergency, there ſeems to be more policy in giving a trifling bounty for every 50 ounces to all who declare, every third year, the quantity they are poſſeſſed of, as their own property, ſubject however to a ſevere fine, if they make declaration of more than they really have. This would retain riches, and alſo furniſh employment to a number of people in the workmanſhip, more than can be ſuppoſed under the circumſtances of *taxing* utenſils.

But on the other hand, and for the ſame reaſon, it may be proper to tax all thoſe, not being domeſtics of the royal houſhold, nor military men, who wear any kind of gold or ſilver on their cloths, equipages, or furniture, the frames of moveable pictures excepted. The efficacy of gold and ſilver, in the proper circulation of it, is of ſuch conſequence, and particularly in a commercial country, that a ſpeedy and regular payment of ſmall ſums naturally operate to the great promotion of induſtry, and we often find it flag where there is no ſuch circulation. So long as a man has a ſhilling in his pocket, he cannot be ſuppoſed to be in a ſtate of beggary, nor acquire any of the evil habits that total penury introduce. This kind of property, be it ever ſo ſmall, keeps up a certain reſpect in the mind of the poſſeſſor for himſelf, which prevents many private and public miſchiefs. I believe it will be found that a ſoldier with money in his pocket will fight much better than he that has none. It ſeems to have been a good policy that was eſtabliſhed by the famous Perſian King *Nadir Shah*, that he en-

couraged his ſoldiers in the pride of their country, which is a ſilver mounted bridle; ſo that he was ſure they had ſomething to fight for beſides himſelf; and in caſe of any great exigency, he was alſo ſure of making money of the ſilver.

To reſtrain other mens vanity and folly, is much eaſier than the practical reduction of our own: yet the laſt is in our power, the firſt can only take root as the ſeed may perchance to fall on a proper ſoil, and by accident be deeply impreſt, and as it were *harrowed* over.

All things have their bounds: if this nation did not owe a *ſhilling*, it might be undone by the extravagancy of individuals. It is a falſe notion, that whatever is loſt or ſquandered by one man, is found or gained by another. When it is conſidered that we owe ſo much, that half the ſtrength of the public, in a direct view, is devoured by individuals, the intereſt of it reaching to near half the amount of the revenue, what is to be done without parſimony? yet we ſeem every day to emulate each other in pomp and magnificence. No *good* can come of this, but ſuch as is greatly overbalanced by the *evil*. If we do not reduce ourſelves to ſuch a political œconomy, as that the poorer part of the people may be employed, fed, and clothed, their own and their childrens lives preſerved, and marriage promoted amongſt them, we ſhall ſoon ſink into indigence. We muſt go forward in a right path or a wrong one: there is no retreating with ſafety, no ſaying we will be juſt what fancy or opinion may repreſent as eligible.

We are the acuteſt merchants in the world, and many of us know the chain of things abroad, and at home. We ſee how much the eyes of mankind are open to the advantages of commerce; and we comprehend that the more eager their deſires are for gain, the leſs will be our ability to amaſs wealth: and the more ſucceſsful they are, the greater will our demands for it be; for ſuch deſires uſually generate wars, and war not only requires vaſt ſupplies, but it becomes the pillage of peace and commerce.

We likewiſe ſee the concatenation of our vaſt traffic. It is our mutual intereſt to circulate credit; but this credit is ſometimes abuſed by large and extenſive bankruptcies, and gives us a ſpecimen, *in minutia*, how the grand machine may be broken up.

I have often heard very acute politicians advance the doctrine, that gold and ſilver are but commodities, and that if we were drained of every ſixpence, it would revert like the tide, provided our induſtry continued, taking for granted that the produce of that induſtry would always be taken off our hands. But ſo many accidents may interfere, which are in the courſe of nature, as well as the return of the tide, that no one can ſay what ſhall be the event in this caſe. It is certain that a portion of gold and ſilver is neceſſary to the amount of a given circulation of credit; we cannot fix it exactly; but we know if paper were not convertible into any thing but paper, upon every alarm of danger from ourſelves or our enemies, the value of ſuch paper would become very low, and the whole machinery be

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ſubject to ruin. We ſee our foreign gold coin tranſported away by our wars; our ſilver alſo is gone to the Eaſt Indies and other countries, being too good in proportion to our gold: We are in want of ſilver-money, even of that kind which weighs but ſix ſhillings to the ounce, and I fear is not *all* ſilver.

In regard to our current traffic; the balance of our Portugal trade, which brings us gold, is conſiderably diminiſhed; and that of our Ruſſia trade, which carries out ſilver to pay a balance, though for uſeful commodities, is conſiderably augmented. This is, comparatively, a ſmall object, compared to the ſum we are paying of ſeven, eight, or nine hundred thouſand pounds to foreigners abroad, for intereſt of money. This devours the fruit of our induſtry, particularly the gold and ſilver we receive. It is demonſtrable that other nations will take no more of our commodities than they have occaſion for; and that the reſt muſt go in gold and ſilver. Thus in war, we are drained by an enormous payment of armies in foreign lands; in peace, by the payment of intereſt of money to foreign lands alſo. Both theſe have been conſiderably larger than they ever were before, and the laſt is an inceſſant drain.

Now, Sir, it is matter of grief and curioſity to obſerve what we are *not* doing towards remedying our evil ſituation in this reſpect, and what we *are* doing to encreaſe it. We endevor to conſume more gold and ſilver in the parade of life than ever we did before. I told you that the French ſay they have 12,000 coaches and chariots in Paris, which on 480,000 inhabitants, would

be a carriage for every fortieth perſon; and taking in their ſingle horſe vehicles and hackney coaches, this account may be true, as far as I know, though it ſeems incredible. But what ſhall we ſay if we emulate the vanity of France? If with all our *Sterling* ſenſe, and the charms which attend the truth and ſimplicity of our genius and conſtitution, we ſeem to be more fantaſtic than the French, we may ſuppoſe that our ſun is ſetting; and the more, as *they* are abridging ſeveral impolitic cuſtoms, whilſt we augment ours.

The grandeur of equipages, amongſt other expences cuts deep againſt plenty, marriage, and population. Every fine chariot I ſee, I think of the national debt, and it ſeems as ſo many fractions of a penny taken out of the dinner of the poor perſon who is walking by, and can hardly earn bread to ſupport himſelf or feed his hungry children.

If a young gentlewoman, or the daughter of a tradeſman in good circumſtances, in the height of her youth and health, thinks ſhe has loſt the uſe of her limbs, and muſt have two horſes to draw her about, a man to drive them, and another to attend behind, they will now coſt her huſband the intereſt of 5000l. which is a handſome portion for the daughter of an earl. Some earls could not give more 50 years ago, and ſome can hardly give ſo much at this day. Thus, by the tyranny of cuſtom, many a young lady and gentlewoman in the ſpring-time of their youth, and the bloſſom of their charms, are ſhunned, as if men were afraid of being poiſoned if they come within their atmoſphere.

But

But it is not the conſtant expence only, but the ſplendor, with which it is become the faſhion to ſet off theſe vehicles. I have been aſſured by a coach-painter, that ſome years ſince his gold-beater's account, which uſed to be 15l. is 200 l. and that ſome pay 500 l. If we add the gilding now uſed in building alſo, and ſet the expence of this choice commodity, for theſe articles only, at 30,000 l. per ann. I mean in theſe cities, what will it be over the whole kingdom in a *peace* of twenty years, reckoning all the intereſt and circulation, and its greater importance in time of war?

It was a rare thing in my memory to ſee any gold or ſilver lace on the clothes of a domeſtic ſervant in livery: lace of wool, cotton, or with a mixture of ſilk, contented us. Now we behold rich veſtments, beſilvered and begilded, like the ſervants of ſovereign princes.—Can this be right till we pay our debts?—If we do nothing to open each others eyes, we may fall from the pinnacle of that earthly grandeur to which we are arrived, and by fruſtrating the goodneſs of providence, ſully the luſtre of all our glorious atchievments paſt. If merchants and tradeſmen ſhould emulate nobles and gentlemen; and nobles and gentlemen not attend to the nature of trade, by which this country ſubſiſts, the deceit may be diſcerned only when it is ſorely felt. Let us therefore think ſeriouſly what we are about, and gratify ourſelves in the higheſt of all pleaſures, that of *doing right*, and *not doing wrong*.

I am yours, &c.

Intereſt of Money paid to Strangers, and the Conſumption of Tea, ſome of the Cauſes of the Beggary and Diſtreſs of a Part of the People.

LETTER XXX.

NEXT to the actual exportation of our gold and ſilver, for payment of armies in time of war, we may reckon the payment of INTEREST of money borrowed in time of war, which continues as a *cancer* in our breaſt in time of peace. We have been, during the two laſt wars, ſo affected by this drain, that it was one good reaſon for making peace, leſt we ſhould become indigent amidſt our conqueſt, and ruined by our victories. ——That a great part of the balances of trade, paid us in gold and ſilver, flies away for payment of ſuch intereſt, is as demonſtrable as that no foreigner will take of us any thing he doth not want, when he *may* command our gold and ſilver, foreign coin, or bullion; and *will* command even our guineas. —— And it muſt be obvious, that as our debt to ſtrangers is ſo very much larger than it ever was before, the intereſt muſt be conſidered as of ſo much greater amount.

The flattering expectations of the nation at preſent, are from the *Eaſt-Indies*; and it is moſt happy to be in ſuch flouriſhing circumſtances: but I cannot ſay that I am one of thoſe who believe we ſhall, for any length of time, be able to obtain ſufficient of the produce of that country, for our inveſtments, merely from

from the commodities theſe Indians take of us, much leſs to carry on our China trade: conſequently the advantages we may draw from *that* quarter of the globe, will not compenſate for the diſadvantages we are at preſent under at home. As yet there is nothing ſolid but the fortunes brought home by the company's ſervants, and the intereſt the company *is* well enabled, or *is not* well enabled, to pay to the proprietors of their ſtock. And as moſt of theſe matters are in ſome degree problematical, even to thoſe who are very converſant in them, I can only *hope* that we ſhall be gratified agreeably to the warmeſt expectations.

In the mean while it is too certain, and undenied, that there is a great deal of beggary amongſt us; and whether this may extend to ſome who have been rich, or only to thoſe who never were rich, beggary is beggary, and ought to be relieved, or its growth or continuance prevented. —— Whatever real cauſes there may be for it, whilſt it continues, no good ſubject can anſwer living in great profuſion, if at the ſame time he pretends to the virtue of a patriot, a good citizen, and a friend to his country and mankind. The pretence is ſo apparently fallacious, that thoſe who acquieſce in it, their applauſe is the applauſe of inſincerity or folly.

On the other hand, I fear the ſenſe of ſhame is too much worn off the minds of our common people, the loſs of *modeſty* with the *poor* keeping pace with the loſs of *parſimony* with the *rich*. Nothing can be more true, than that the paſſion of compaſſion, or in the more extenſive meaning of the word, *humanity* not regulated with

judgment, creates beggary and diſtreſs, as *mercy*, ill-applied, produces *cruelty*. Even the high taxation of a people for their ſupport, may in ſome inſtances deſtroy their ability to pay any taxes at all. We may, as hath been judiciouſly obſerved by a great political writer, *cut down the tree in order to come at the fruit*. Old general *Schwerin*, who finiſhed his life in the field of battle at *Prague*, once told the *Pruſſian* monarch, that if he did not mean to keep *Sileſia*, he taxed the people of that country ſufficiently; but if he did mean to keep it, he taxed them too much.

This honeſt opinion was not well received, nor can I anſwer for the propriety of it. But we ſee it verified in every part of life, that temporary expedients often bring on durable calamities. In the inſtance of relieving common beggars; if in theſe cities we ſelect only the very old and the very young, (*a*) and thoſe who are really maimed, and give them full liberty to raiſe contributions for their own ſupport, the more they ſucceed the greater their numbers will be. Rather than fail, they will turn impoſtors; and this kind of traffic will eſtabliſh its ſlaviſh empire in the heart of an induſtrious nation, ſo that one part of the people will pull down, whilſt the others are building up.

That penury grows out of opulency is beyond diſpute; and amidſt the various changes and chances of a military and commercial people, of a genius remarkably active, various kinds of diſtreſſes will ariſe, unknown to thoſe

(*a*) I make an exception to chimney-ſweepers boys, as the manner in which they are treated, is one of the cruelties of this country, and ought not to be permitted.

thoſe nations, if ſuch there are, who walk directly in the paths of nature, and never think of invoking providence for a ſupport, but as they uſe the means which the goodneſs of providence hath put into their hands.

The eſtabliſhment of poors laws with us are evident tokens of the policy as well as humanity of the nation: ſo is the power lodged in *juſtices*, and pariſh officers, for aſſiſtance to itinerant perſons; ſo that from the nature of our laws and diſpoſition, one would think there need be no vagabonds: And if theſe laws were executed with an equal regard to juſtice, humanity, and policy, there would be but few. But the firſt contrivers of them ſeem to have been defective with regard to the coerſive part, and the puniſhment of the offender, who is to relieve, as well as him who is to be relieved. Thus a reviſion of ſuch laws ſeems to be neceſſary, were it only to rectify the peculiar evils which often accompany the execution of them.

Here I conceive the firſt ſtep to be taken, is to call the parochial officer to ſevere account, whoſe poor ever appear without a mark of diſtinction in ſome part of their dreſs that is viſible; and ſuch poor to be puniſhed if they are found begging; and he whoſe office it is to apprehend and puniſh, to be himſelf puniſhed if he neglects his duty.

This would be eaſy where the lord of the lands, on which the treſpaſs is committed, employs himſelf in the ſuperintendance of ſuch affairs, and part of his fortune in relief of the indigent; otherwiſe the ſource being ſtopt or corrupted, the ſtream can never flow pure.

Nor indeed is there yet a proviſion made for ſome claſſes of miſery, as in caſes of no parochial ſettlements; nor is there *proper* proviſion where the ſettlement is very diſtant. If the officer doth not examine, where or how work may be procured, as I have already had occaſion to mention in many caſes, to tell a man to work, is the ſame as to tell him to be rich, and to have no occaſion for labor.

But dropping this conſideration, nothing can be more evident than the adventitious miſery we bring on ourſelves by the force of example. If the happineſs of every nation muſt depend on its cuſtoms and manners, as well as its laws, I appeal to the common ſenſe of mankind, whether any cuſtom can be more admirably contrived to introduce both private and national beggary, than the carrying out ſubſtantial wealth to the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*, to bring home a beverage for the uſe of the loweſt part of the people, and than raiſe above half a million, or a twentieth of the amount of the revenue, which is to ſupport a great nation, for a liberty to ſuch people to conſume their time, and a large portion of the produce of their labor, which is rendered ſo much the leſs, by the debility which this very beverage creates. Yet by a kind of fatality it is become neceſſary, as a temporary expedient, to indulge, rather than diſcountenance this cuſtom.

It is ſometimes difficult to determine what particular cauſe operates ſtrongeſt in the decline of nations. But if we may judge from the nature of *tea*, and the univerſality of the faſhion, the expence it creates to the poor,

and

and the contraband trade it occaſions, it will in the iſſue prove extremely hurtful to this nation.

It is alſo an amazing conſideration how men are enſlaved by fooliſh cuſtoms: and how in this *northern* climate we, who have ſo many potations beyond what China can boaſt of, are become ſuch devotees to tea. We have abundance of milk; beer of many kinds; wine which we import from countries in Europe, near at hand; infuſions of many ſalutary and well-taſted herbs; preparations of barley and oats; and above all, in moſt places, exceeding *good water*. This cuſtom ſeems to have been firſt artfully introduced as a very dear and rare thing, and under a ſtrange deception: the Chineſe have only water to drink, and that ſo bad that the infuſion of theſe ſhrub-leaves was neceſſary to correct the water. They hardly uſe any but *bohea*, eſteeming *green* very unwholeſome. We take the cuſtom from them, not wanting it as they do, and uſing the kind which they reject; and accordingly we find it very pernicious to vaſt numbers of people. When it is genuine, it hurts many, when adulterated or dyed, has been found poiſonous.

The common people in China *drink* this infuſion milk-warm, we take it *hot*: they *drink*, we *ſip* it, by which means the tone of the ſtomach is oftentimes extremely injured. The young and old, the healthy and infirm, the ſuperlatively rich, down to vagabonds and beggars, drink this enchanting beverage, when they are thirſty, and when they are not thirſty. It is the very fooliſhneſs of folly. Many kinds of tea are corroſive, and being

made ſtrong, is alſo an emetic, and as ſuch often taken, as well as the infuſion of camomile flowers. Where bitters are recommended, tea is often hurtful, whereas the virtues of our camomile flowers are potent. The infuſion of theſe flowers being made weak, and drank milk-warm, in a ſmall quantity, is often recommended as an admirable beverage for a weak habit of the bowels.

Happy were it, if many thouſands of the more delicate part of both ſexes, as well as thoſe whoſe conſtitutions are ſhattered by time and intemperance, could recover their wits enough to attend to their own feeling, and follow the dictates of their own common ſenſe, and ſelf-preſervation would then teach them to diſdain ſuch a ſervility to *cuſtom*, or ſuch obedience to appetite, where nature has ſo little ſhare.

What a deplorable ſituation is that poor creature in, who having but *three-pence* or a groat a day, conſumes a quarter part, or more, of her income in the infuſion of a drug, which from the *badneſs of its kind*, or the *diſorders of her body*, is but a remove from poiſon. But if it only ſerves to create an appetite, whilſt it diſſipates the means of gratifying her hunger, what ſhall we ſay of the madneſs of the cuſtom? If ſix millions of pounds weight are conſumed, deducting children under ſeven years old, it is above a pound each for a year, and at 7 s. charge on a medium is above 2 millions, near 4 *per cent.* on our expence.

The ordinary charge of tea-drinking among the loweſt part of the people is $1\frac{1}{4}$ penny a time. Conſidering the *fuel* they conſume, and alſo the *butter*, which frequently

attends

attends this entertainment, it muſt multiply wants, and impoveriſh. Many who are crying out againſt wheat at 6 or 7 s. a buſhel, will give up a pound of bread, rather than a quarter of an ounce of tea, or *afternoon's amuſement in drinking* this infatuating drug. Thoſe who are ſo infatuated as to drink it twice a day, it will amount to near $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence, which is more than a good dinner properly cooked will amount to. One penny per day amounts per ann. to — — 1 l. 10 s. 5 d. almoſt a quarter part of the computation of 6 . 12 . 4 calculated as neceſſary to ſupport a life. Yet it is amazing how the people are tea-bitten, and become as tenacious of drinking this infuſion, as a mad dog to avoid drinking at all.

The injury is further augmented: the loſs of time in ſipping it, is alſo an evil of the firſt magnitude, ſo is the debility it generally creates. If proviſions continue ſcarce, is it poſſible for the common people to go on with this ſtrange abſurd cuſtom? Are theſe poor people to go *naked* for the ſake of this unnatural paſſion?

Very little can be ſaid for it, in any view, with regard to the *rich*, and nothing in reſpect to the poor. If in any *one* caſe it is of real ſervice to health, it injures in *ten*, eſpecially the dyed, mixed, corrupted ſtuff, often uſed by the lower ſort of people. This article of expence ſurely militates againſt our national welfare, and government is ſet againſt itſelf. The revenue it produces is large; but ſo it might be for a little while on *arſenic*, if the paſſion was for the people to poiſon themſelves directly. But if this revenue were abſorbed, and

twice as much charged *directly* on our own lands, if the people were the better enabled to labor by the food they eat, we ſhould be gainers. And as the caſe ſtands, in addition to the time conſumed, and the loſs of labor, it is in effect charged on our lands by the miſery of the common people, which raiſes poors rates and contributions on the wealthy. Would not any evil of this kind be preferable to the being thus tributary to *China* for an article we can do much better without? Are we not alſo tributary to *France*, and other countries, which *run* this Chineſe drug in upon us? We contribute to ſtrengthen the naval power of that kingdom, for I believe *we* conſume the *greateſt* part of the *tea* which France imports into Europe; ſo that under a notion of improving our navigation, we may ſtrengthen our rivals, and weaken ourſelves. And ſo far as this may be found true, the evil cuts doubly againſt us. That vaſt quantities of tea are run in upon us, and will be ſo whilſt we draw ſo vaſt a revenue from it, is beyond all diſpute; ſo that in effect we pay *a very dear intereſt on this revenue.*

Let us go to *China* with cloth, or even ſilver, if we can bring home *raw ſilk* to employ our own people, who will conſume our own produce. Let us be conſiſtent, and rather bring home ſand for ballaſt, than, whilſt we judiciouſly prohibit the uſe of the manufacturies of China, which are good, indulge the uſe of the leaves of their ſhrubs. What is the difference in this view of food and raiment? It is ſo much conſumption of produce; but the raiment is really good, the food miſerably bad. We ſhould certainly be a wiſer, healthier, ſtronger,

ſtronger, richer people, if we declined the uſe of this article.—It reaches our vitals, and ſucks our blood.

This national frenzy has gained ſo great an aſcendency, that it muſt be a work of time for us to recover our ſenſes. The wiſer part among the affluent ſubjects of the nation begin to be tired of it: I obſerve many decline the uſe of it in an evening, and their example will extend, in due time, to the lower claſſes. When the higher ranks really penetrate into the pernicious effects of it in a commercial view, and as an *expenſive cuſtom*; and ſee that to all human appearance themſelves will pay very dear for it in the iſſue by the poverty it creates, they will leave it off entirely.

The more wants the *poor* have, the more diſcontented they will be if they are not gratified. I dare ſay, if every houſe were taxed wherein tea is drank, it would be deemed a *tyrannical* impoſt; and the clamors againſt it would be infinitely greater than they were againſt the cyder duty. Notwithſtanding, if we mean to preſerve them, let us among other things diſcountenance the uſe of tea.

Amongſt a variety of articles which modern times have introduced as *neceſſaries* of life, even with the lower claſſes, I reckon *butter*: It is amazing to conſider how pernicious this is to the digeſtive powers of ſome perſons, and can never be good, at any time, for all kinds of conſtitutions; but it is conſidered as an article without which there is no living. Not many years ſince, it was deemed an article of luxury: it was not common to *domeſtic* ſervants in families of rank: but now, if the

laboring

laboring part of mankind are not ſupplied with it at 6 d. or 8 d. a pound, they think the *times* are very hard.

Two-pence or three-pence a day ſupports many lives in all counties, but if conſumed in butter, tea, and ſugar, it will furniſh but a ſlender diet, and they may well complain of being in a *ſtarving* condition. Thoſe who lay out their money in this fooliſh manner, muſt thank themſelves if they *ſhould* be ſtarved in good earneſt.

There is another article of *luxury*, I mean criminal exceſs, as it exceeds our ability to purchaſe the thing we conſume. This hydra *tea*, might be ſubdued with leſs difficulty, if it did not conſume ſo much *ſugar* of our own growth. But will any one ſay we were not in happier circumſtances, with reſpect to this article, during the war, when we commanded other markets by the ſuperabundance we had of this commodity beyond our own expence? And would not ſugar be much cheaper with us if we conſumed leſs of it, and had wherewithal to ſupply foreign markets? *France* has the advantage of us in ſelling the greateſt part of her ſugars to ſtrangers; ſhe enriches herſelf, and will impoveriſh us by the expence of our wars. And what in the iſſue will ſignify all our induſtry and ſkill, and vaſt poſſeſſions, if we expend as faſt as we grow, and ſometimes faſter. It is only by ſaving *for ſale* that we can, as a community, be enriched. And if we are not enabled by the arts of peace, and the *ſavings* made to anſwer the demands of war, conſidering the vaſt additional conſumptions war creates, and the many thouſands it takes

takes off their labor, we muſt ſuffer miſerably in the iſſue.

That ſugar, to thoſe who can afford it, tempers the crudities of fruits, and gives a reliſh to many a wholeſome meſs, whether of peeled barley, oatmeal, grots, rice, or milk, is without doubt. It is rather inflammatory to young perſons, but where it agrees, it gives a *ſtimulus* to thoſe who are further advanced in years. It is one of the choiceſt and moſt delicious productions of nature, and a great pity it ſhould be proſtituted to ſo ignoble a mixture. If we are reſolved to conſume it in ſuch vaſt quantities, the next leſſer evil is, to uſe it in ſubſtantial food, not devote it ſo much to *tea*. And it ſeems probable that if *tea* were out of faſhion, the price of butter and ſugar would be much lowered; and *we* as well as the *French* ſhould be qualified to export ſugar to other nations, which is moſt evidently the means of acquiring riches. No merchant can conſider ſuch an export but as a moſt deſirable thing; even if he is a *planter* he would wiſh it; for if we expend all our ſugar ourſelves, we cannot be enriched by it, if we ſhould continue able to be the ſole purchaſers.

I am yours, &c.

The Abuſe of Malt Liquors, Wine, and ſpirituous Liquors, extremely injurious, and productive of Penury among the common People.

LETTER XXXI.

YOU have ſeen my thoughts on *tea*. They have been for a long time conſtantly and uniformly the ſame, particularly in regard to the common people;

and as it is a great article of our commerce, it is remarkable that no one ſets down ſoberly to defend it, except in the habit or evil practice of drinking it.

But there is another ſpecies of *drinking*, honeſt, uſeful, and beneficial in itſelf, and which might be rendered productive of much *good*, and no *evil*: but by the exceſs, I fear it occaſions great penury.——

It hath been obſerved, that when the FRENCH begin a ſettlement, their firſt object is a fortification: but Engliſhmen provide a houſe where they may fortify themſelves with liquor, and defy all the power on earth to hurt them. —— Some foreigners remark that *England* appears to them as a country where half the people are employed to ſupply the other half with liquor.

If nothing was drank but *malt liquor*, made good of its kind, and not taken in exceſs, it is a promoter of induſtry, gives energy to growth, and preſerves our breed; and it furniſhes *power* as well as inclination to perform the laborious offices of life with alacrity and comfort. Nor is it to be expected the laboring part of mankind ſhould monopolize the virtue of a nation. They have their foibles as well as the *great*, and ſometimes prove the honeſter of the two: but they will gratify their foibles.

The great object of the ſtateſman, when an exceſs in any thing preponderates on the hurtful ſide, is to check it; and to guard the people againſt the temptation, by throwing it as little as poſſible in their way. But it is very evident, a nation may be ſo entangled, as hardly to know how to remedy one evil without introducing

another

another and a greater. This ſituation is deſcribed in emphatical terms, by a late ingenious writer, in a pamphlet, entitled, *An enquiry into the management of the poor*. He ſays,

" Another ſnare and temptation to idleneſs, expence, and vice, laid for the common people, is the great and uſeleſs number of public houſes, which we almoſt every where meet with; moſt of which, not being wanted for real convenience and accommodation, are perverted to the worſt and moſt dangerous abuſes; are often made the receptacles of proſtitutes, pilferers and thieves, and all other tranſgreſſors of the laws; or at leaſt the ſeducers of the thoughtleſs people into idleneſs, gaming, tippling; ſquandering away the ſmall earnings, which are wanted at home for the ſupport of their ſtarving families, and too often mortgaging their future labor to gratify the preſent humor of riot and exceſs; nor is there in the long catalogue of errors in the laws and polity of this kingdom, ſo fruitful a ſource of evil, nor which calls more loudly upon all thoſe who have it in their power to put a ſtop to ſo univerſal and dangerous a contagion. The conſideration of the revenue will never, ſurely, be urged as a motive for continuing ſo deſtructive an abuſe, even ſuppoſing any perſons could form ſo wrong and partial a judgment of things, as to imagine the revenue can ever ſuffer, upon the whole, by changing the intemperance, extravagance, and idleneſs of the common people, into ſobriety, frugality, and induſtry; upon which alone all the riches and ſtrength of the nation depend. Nor can there, indeed, be adopted, by

ſtateſmen, a more weak and dangerous error, than to ſuppoſe, that doing right, can ever poſſibly be attended with bad conſequences. If truth and right are not thoſe infallible guides which we may always ſafely follow, both in ſpeculation and practice, to what muſt we have recourſe? And contrary to this plain and unerring rule, if the licencing ſuch uſeleſs numbers of houſes by public authority, as can have no poſſible means of ſupport, but by corrupting the morals of the common people, and introducing every kind of vice and diſorder, is not eſtabliſhing iniquity by law, I am at a loſs to know what can be called ſo."

However juſt theſe ſentiments are as to the temptation to intemperance, it is much eaſier to find out the diſeaſe than to preſcribe a remedy. The cure can only be accompliſhed by degrees, and never can be totally eradicated.

This author goes on to recommend the reſtraining the giving *licences* to public houſes under certain circumſtances only. He is ſo far in the right, that in the neighborhood of cottagers, who have proſpered long by their honeſt labor, and by purchaſing with the produce of it, neceſſaries for the ſupport of their lives; let an ale-houſe be once eſtabliſhed among them, and it is five to one if the people are not rendered much poorer, more vicious, and leſs happy than they were before. This is verified in an inſtance a few miles from *Newbury*, where certain villagers went on extremely well whilſt there was no temptation to *tippling* at a leſs diſtance than *two miles*; they were then *all* ſober people; but the introduction

of

of *public houſes*, has operated againſt feats of *induſtry*, as the cuſtoms of the *Perſians*, among the hardy military nations of antient times, againſt feats of arms.

Our common people are as much diſtinguiſhed for their parts in the *tragic comedy* of life, which they repreſent, as any can be among the higher claſſes.

I remember a gardener where I lived, who earned *nine* ſhillings a week; he *could*, and ſometimes he *would* drink out 7 s. on a Saturday, and leave his wife and children to provide for themſelves a *Sunday*'s dinner with the remaining *two*, when he thought fit to relieve their wants ſo far; yet he paſſed with impunity, which is one of the circumſtances which this author thinks ought not to be. We have laws againſt ſuch offenders, but the rigid execution of them is apt to create alarms about *liberty*, and if men will drown or hang themſelves, of what avail can laws be?

We are told of inſtances of one man's earning 20 s. or more money, in one long ſummer's day, by unloading coals from a lighter, and of his drinking out 15 or 16 s. in beer. Theſe adventures do not happen every day. Our ſtage coachmen are perpetually drinking; they no ſooner deſcry a *ſign*, but they find themſelves thirſty.

In the mean while it muſt be confeſſed, that beer is a *brave beverage* to thoſe who fight well, or thoſe who work hard. When taken in moderation, it is the ſupport and comfort of life; but people who ſip *tea* wantonly, or tipple *ale* wantonly, and thus wantonly conſume what ſhould be ſpent in providing the *neceſſaries* of

life, can with no propriety complain of the dearneſs of *bread.*

A halfpenny extraordinary in houſhold bread, is a conſiderable article, when extended to every perſon in the families of the laboring part of mankind; but a halfpenny will go but a little way in *butter*, *tea*, *ſugar*, or *ale.*—The beſt things are generally ſubject to the greateſt abuſe.

Such leſſons as theſe ſhould be made known and offered, with great attention, to the laboring part of this nation; and they ſhould be alſo taught that extravagancy will as certainly *undo them*, with regard to liberty, as it will people of property, eſpecially if the wants of either render them turbulent. Such admonitions will not fill a hungry belly, but they will provide againſt the cauſes of *hunger* and *ſlavery* alſo.

If ſuch leſſons are inculcated with the zeal of the *divine*, the good policy of the *juſtice* of the peace, and the humanity and influence of *gentlemen* of landed eſtates, and not intruded as a *command*, this claſs of mankind will be found more corrigible than thoſe whoſe education, fortune, and independency, are ſo highly ſuperior; and if properly applied to in due time and ſeaſon, they can hardly fail of the ſucceſs deſired. Let it be a man's greateſt honor to cheriſh his wife and children, and let him be encouraged as a good huſband and a father, and the buſineſs is half done.

I am yours, &c.

The vaſt Conſumption of Meat, independent of Seaſons or War, one great Cauſe of the Dearneſs of it.

LETTER XXXII.

IN conſidering our ſituation, it appears in the ſtrongeſt point of view, that as the rich have encreaſed in their conſumptions and manner of living, ſo has the laboring part of the nation; and that notwithſtanding the unkindneſs of ſeaſons, we have gone on the ſame pace, but at length the ſtorm overtakes us. If our conſumption is beyond what the earth produces, a ſcarcity and dearneſs in price muſt enſue. We have no idea what plenty means. Some of our domeſtics eat meat *thrice* in a day; no wonder if ſome of the poor cannot get at 3 or 4 ounces once in 24 hours.

What think you of 1400 oxen, rendering each 6½ C. of the eatable part; 13,000 ſheep, of 84 lb. each, the eatable part; with a quantity at leaſt equal to the mutton, in pork, veal, lamb, poultry, and pigs, ſold weekly at Smithfield and the ſhops, for the uſe of theſe cities? Suppoſing 700,000 inhabitants, men, women, and children, old and young, ſickly and healthy, it comes to a fraction above ſeven ounces each per diem.

This is a quantity brought to one place, which one would imagine enough to impoveriſh the richeſt country upon earth; and is, I ſuppoſe, more than thrice as much as is conſumed by the ſame number of people on any ſpot on this globe: and it would not be credible, if it was not

not well known that the computation in a private family in affluence is 1¼ lb. or 20 oz. each, and that *all* the people covet to eat meat.

This amounts yearly to oxen — — — 72,800
Thirty years ago they made it — — — 98,244
I preſume this included the rich villages round theſe cities.

The 13,000 ſheep above, amount yearly to — 676,000
Whereas the former accounts make it — — 711,123
The laſt includes lambs, ſo that the correſpondence of the number, which I obtained from the moſt experienced and intelligent perſons, agree upon the compariſon with thoſe on *record*, and may be ſuppoſed to ſupport each other; and that we have gone on for 30 years the ſame pace; and if we go on ſtill without adventitious reſources, meat will be ſtill dearer.

In regard to the means of promoting the growth of cattle, we ſeem to rely on Providence, or rather not to think at all of the order of Providence, in reſpect to the uſual events of human actions. In all countries where animal food is ſcarce, they are contented to conſume but little, and have laws againſt killing of calves, lambs or pigs: and though the feed of theſe may not be convenient to the individual in all caſes with us, yet upon the whole, I ſuppoſe it would be better for us, as a community, not to eat *veal*, *lamb* or *pig*, for a certain time. The number of theſe, in conjunction with the poultry, is ſaid to equal the mutton we conſume, and I apprehend the difference is not very great.

Thirty

Thirty years ſince, the quantity is recorded to have been as follows:

Calves, per annum — —	194,760	
Pigs — *ditto* — — —	52,000	433,692
Hogs — *ditto* — — —	186,932	
which with the *poultry* may go near in weight to the ſheep already mentioned, viz. — —		676,000

In the mean while we do not think of preſerving even the *females of theſe ſpecies*; and our common people are the moſt ignorant, or the moſt prejudiced that can be imagined, as to the art of cooking animal food, to make the moſt of it. Yet it is well known that ſome of them, in times paſt, have had but a very ſlender allowance, and have but a ſlender one to this day, of ſuch food. With the addition of legumens, roots, and vegetables, *five pounds* weight of meat will go as far as we generally make *ten* or *fifteen*, and the conſumer will be more free of the ſcurvy, and not leſs fit for the laborious offices of life. I know of one caſe, in which *fifty* marines are fed, excluſive of bread, with a moſt excellent dinner, which does not coſt above 3s. 6d. incluſive of the *firing* which is provided; they ſupport the cook by her profits, and pay *one half-penny* for a full pint of very good broth, of which I have eaten. It is made of an ox's head and leeks, with ſome oatmeal occaſionally, and they have 3 ounces of the meat for a half-penny more. If they can purchaſe a pound of *good houſhold* bread for a penny, they have a plentiful meal for *two-pence*; and they pay as much as might furniſh the fuel alſo.

Upon enquiry how they liked the *houſhold* bread, which they uſually bought, they complained that it was not made as the King's petty-warrant bread, furniſhed his Majeſty's ſhips in ordinary: and no wonder, for ſuch is not made by any bakers, being of the pure meal, only the broad and ſhort bran taken out. The men obſerved, that ſuch bread is to them as ſo much *cake*, and came too dear, for they were tempted to eat too much of it. This ſeemed to be a ſtrong natural argument in favor of *genuine bread*; and a very good defence of the poor who have refuſed to eat adulterated brown bread. They find the *white bread* is clammy and doughy, and when ſtale, huſky, and inutricious; yet as their *betters* eat it, they do, and this conſtitutes the moſt conſiderable part of their diet.

A friend of mine gave me the other day a *recipe*, by which food may be prepared for five ſtout men, or ten common perſons, including women and children, viz.

9 Pints of water.
1 Pound of beef, lean, and cut into thin pieces.
1 Pint of ſplit peaſe.
12 Ounces of mealy potatoes.
3 Ounces of ground rice.

After theſe have boiled gently two hours, add

3 Large leeks.
2 Heads of ſalary—and ſalt.

In want of *potatoes*, or *rice*, or *ſalary*, I ſhould think *biſcuit* or *bread*, with *pepper* or *onions*, might anſwer the purpoſe.

Theſe reduced to 7 pints, is in value about *twelve-pence*.

Such

Such meſſes are fit for princes, eſpecially thoſe who ſeek for pleaſure and for health under the canopy of the heavens. And why they are not in more general uſe, I know not, except from the ignorance and prejudice I have juſt mentioned.—If any thing further occurs on this ſubject, you ſhall hear from me.

I am yours, &c.

Dearneſs of Proviſions partly created by additional Numbers of Horſes kept for Pleaſure.

LETTER XXXIII.

WE muſt not arraign the *laboring* part of our fellow-ſubjects for their foibles and vices, without reminding the *rich*, in what inſtances they tranſgreſs. The field is too large to be fully explored. I mean only to mention a few particulars wherein we might eaſily relieve our fellow-chriſtians, and fellow-ſubjects, by retrenching our *unneceſſary* expences on *beaſts*.

I remember when I was in Saxony, the late King of Poland had entertained a *paſſion* for *deer*, and made it death for any man to kill one in the electorate, tho' it ſhould have made a treſpaſs on his own grounds. The conſequence of this was, the country was over-run, ſo that the people, diſtreſſed as they were, offered to maintain a conſiderable body of additional troops, if his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to reduce his heads of deer to a certain number.

If the matter were rightly underſtood, I fear this would appear to be nearly our caſe. We not only make horſes exceſſive dear, but we breed many where we

ſhould feed cattle for proviſions, hides, and tallow. *We* have no body to complain of but ourſelves; yet our extravagancy in this number exceeds all credibility. We firſt draw off many of theſe uſeful animals from the culture of the earth, by which they might obtain food for man and beaſt, and then diſcover we do not grow a ſufficient quantity of oats to maintain *them* only.

In 1722 it was reckoned we had 17,000 horſes in theſe cities, I ſuppoſe for uſe and pleaſure: I fear we have thrice the number at this time. How many now keep an equipage with *two* horſes to draw them, and *two* men to attend them, whoſe incomes are not above 4 or 500l. per ann. conſequently they conſume a third of their revenue in this ſuperfluous parade, oftentimes circumſcribing their munificence and their liberty, and bringing on bodily decay for want of exerciſe, before the time appointed by nature.

We were not long ſince contented with a *ſtage coach* with *four* horſes, to go 50 miles a day; now we drive *ſix*, and go 70 or 80 miles; or change them, and employ three times the number — for the wanton indulgence of going with ſpeed, *when we are in no haſte!*

We uſed to travel in a poſt chaiſe with two horſes, 5 or 6 miles in an hour, we now uſe four, and drive them 9 or 10 miles in the ſame time.

Formerly we journeyed becauſe we had ſome uſeful object in view, or for health, or to change the ſcene *occaſionally*; now we ſpend vaſt ſums, ſeemingly with no end at all but to ſquander wealth and diſſipate time, and keep our horſes

horſes on as high feeding as ourſelves, as if there could not be an end of the produce of this fertile land.

And ſince our object is the duties of mercy, civilization, and national policy, I cannot avoid taking notice of the barbarity of driving *horſes* ſo much beyond their natural ſtrength; and the impolicy of wearing them down by an exceſs of labor. "A merciful man is merciful to his beaſt." Are thoſe who drive horſes ſo furiouſly, devoid of all ſentiment of mercy? If, as the poet hath beautiful obſerved, you kill the *lamb*,

"*Who licks your hand, when rais'd to ſhed his blood,*"

you would not drive him round the field, with whip and ſcourge, and *murder* him by a violent palpitation of his heart. Why then ſhould any one *preſume* to whip and ſcourge the generous horſe, at the very moment that he depends on his ſtrength for his profit, or pleaſure. We kill the lamb for food; we keep the horſe alive for numerous ſervices: if we meant to kill him, we ſhould do it properly. But what think you of one inn-keeper in *Huntingdonſhire*, who has had *twenty-two horſes driven to death* in one year. If he who has 3000 l. a year, would travel ten times as faſt as him who hath but 300 l. yet he can give no additional powers to a horſe, more than he can to himſelf, in the gratification of his appetites. If he *kills* a horſe, he may be better able to buy another, but he is not the leſs cruel, nor the leſs miſchievous to his country, by waſting its ſtrength in the deſtruction of this uſeful animal. We are ſuppoſed to delight in travelling, yet we act as if it were ſo much time cut off our exiſtence, at the very moment

moment that it creates ſo much a heavier expence. Thus we ſeem to fruſtrate our own gratifications, and verify what has been judiciouſly remarked by foreigners, that we are perpetually *hunting* after *pleaſure*, but never *find* it.

It is by the balance of our trade that we have been enriched, now we are paying them away to pleaſe our fancies in rambling about, to ſuch a degree, that in about two years, if my information is true, we have imported above 180,000 quarters of oats, value at leaſt one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. Will not this ſum be a balance ſo much againſt us?

Obliged to ſend our gold and ſilver abroad to purchaſe food for our horſes! What would our fathers ſay, were they to riſe from their graves! Yet we owe a conſiderable part of our greatneſs to their management. Will not ſuch examples, and ſuch expences, ſhake the foundations of the moſt ample fortunes, not to poſterity only, but during the lives of the preſent poſſeſſors?

Abſtracted from any temporary exigency, for which it is to be preſumed the wiſdom of the legiſlature will make the beſt proviſion which the nature of the caſe will admit of, it is apparent that our *firſt* object is to change our *cuſtoms* and *manners*. It is impoſſible to conſider the *rich* or the poor, of a *free* country, but as they protect and defend each other in their reſpective ſtations of life. Let us revert to the maxims by which individuals have been enriched: this will be the ſureſt way of keeping our riches.

To this end we ſhould teach our children from what ſources riches flow; that all things have their bounds;

that in general neither our *riches*, nor what is a diſtinct article, our *property*, are adequate to the expenſive manner of living now in vogue. And laſtly, that unleſs we teach *ourſelves*, our *enemies* will teach us: unleſs we obey the dictates of Reaſon, we muſt wait the iſſue, and ſubmit to *Neceſſity*. Heaven grant, in any caſe, it may not be a *cruel* neceſſity, though we ſhould deſerve it!

I am yours, &c.

A candid and judicious Repreſentation made to the Repreſentatives of the County of Glouceſter, in Relation to the Dearneſs of Proviſions; with ſome Remarks.

LETTER XXXIV.

YOU have lately ſeen a variety of repreſentations in relation to the preſent ſtate of this nation, ſome of which are candid and judicious; but it is not eaſy to find candor, judgment and knowledge of facts, meeting in one and the ſame. For my own part, I have not ſeen any one more expreſſive of the wants of the lower claſſes of the people, nor where remedies, *in ſome inſtances*, are more judiciouſly pointed out, than in the following repreſentation which I ſend you. It comes from gentlemen who were on the ſpot, who ſaw and felt, and paid towards the relief of the calamities they complain of; conſequently it derives the greater weight and ſtronger ſanction. I ſend it to you entire as I find it, and you will judge of the merit.

A Copy

A Copy of the Repreſentation tranſmitted to the Members of the County of Glouceſter, and ſubſcribed by the Contributors to the Charity ſet on foot at Stroud, for the Relief of the Manufacturers.

To THO. TRACEY *and* EDW. SOUTHWELL, *Eſqrs. Repreſentatives in Parliament for the County of* Glouceſter.

GENTLEMEN,

'TO the countenance you have been pleaſed to ſhew, to the plan ſet on foot in this neighbourhood, for the relief of our poor manufacturers in their preſent diſtreſs, and from the compaſſionate ſenſe you have of their miſeries, we are induced to lay before you our ſentiments, as to the moſt probable meaſures for warding off the like evils for the time to come, and to remove the very pretences for thoſe tumults and inſurrections, in which too many of our people inconſiderately engaged, to the great increaſe of *all* their calamities, inſtead of remedying any *one* of them; and for reſtoring plenty, and preventing either a *real* or *artificial* ſcarcity for the future: and we more particularly addreſs ourſelves to *you* at this time, as theſe conſiderations are the preſent objects of the legiſlative body.

In former times, though corn has been at certain periods as dear as at preſent, and even much dearer, yet other proviſions being reaſonably cheap, the affliction was not ſo grievous; whereas it is our peculiar infelicity to be charged at preſent with a moſt exorbitant price for every other article of food, as well as for bread.

Therefore

Therefore we humbly ſubmit it to your mature judgment, whether your parliamentary attention ſhould be wholly confined to *bread* alone, or whether it ſhould not extend to the conſideration of the price of other articles of neceſſary food, declaring it, at the ſame time, to be our fixed opinion, that no remedy can be effectual, unleſs the intereſt of the individual ſhall be made to coincide with that of the public; becauſe we know, by fact and long experience, that the enforcing or revival of any other law, however well intended, will always produce more harm than good.

In regard to the preſent ſyſtem of laws relating to the bounty upon corn, and for permitting the exportation and importation thereof, we apprehend they are uſeful in the main, having produced ſalutary effects; but nevertheleſs, that they may receive ſome conſiderable amendments and improvements, particularly in three reſpects, viz.

Firſt, By granting an higher bounty upon the exportation of corn than there is at preſent, when the market price thereof is too cheap at home, ſuppoſe at 3 s. or 3 s. 6 d. the Wincheſter buſhel, in order to induce the farmer to continue the like quantity of ground under tillage the ſucceeding year.

Secondly, By ſtopping or withdrawing all bounty whatſoever, when the price of our markets ſhall afford a ſufficient profit to the farmer, which we may ſuppoſe to be at 4 s. or at the moſt 5 s. per buſhel.

And *thirdly*, By admitting an importation of foreign corn, duty free, when the price of our own ſhall begin to grow immoderate, which we conceive to be when it riſes above 5 s. the buſhel.

Theſe regulations, together with a prohibition of the diſtilleries, whenever the bounty upon exportation is made to ceaſe, will be, according to our ſenſe of things, a ſufficient guard againſt the extremes, either of exceſſive cheapneſs or dearneſs, which are equally injurious to the induſtry and morals of our people, and to trade and manufactures in all their branches.

As to the procuring a plentiful ſupply of butter, cheeſe, and butchers meat, we apprehend that this can never be done effectually, in the preſent ſtate of things, till *live ſtock* ſhall be permitted to be imported from foreign countries, duty free; and the grounds of our opinion are the following, viz.

The kingdom of Great Britain in general is now become too rich, the lands too much incloſed and improved, the prices of milk, butter, cheeſe, veal, lamb, &c. &c. too high, and in conſequence thereof eſtates ſet too dear for the raiſing of young ſwine, lambs, or calves, in any ſufficient quantity.

Therefore, if we could expect a conſtant ſupply, at a moderate price, we muſt avail ourſelves of the poverty of our neighbours on the continent, where the ways of living are much more mean and penurious, where grounds are moſtly open and unimproved, where eſtates are ſet at very low rents, and where young cattle may be reared on large waſtes and extenſive foreſts; (*a*) not to mention, that the importation of every ſuch live *young animal*, is the importation of a *raw material* in its crudeſt ſtate,

(*a*) I am told they do not chuſe in Ireland to part with their live cattle, nor perhaps in any other country.

ſtate, which is to grow up and fatten in our own paſtures, and for our own benefit; and whoſe ſkin, wool, hair, &c. when the animal ſhall be ſlaughtered, will be manufactured by the inhabitants of Great Britain, to the advantage of the landed and trading intereſt, and alſo to the increaſe of ſhipping and navigation.

One thing more, *Gentlemen*, we beg leave to obſerve, in regard to theſe important ſubjects, viz. that if a kind of *ſuccedaneum* could be introduced, when the prices either of bread or of other victuals ſhould be likely to become exorbitant, this ſubſtitute would not only afford great relief to the *poor*, but would alſo protect the *rich*, and all in general, from becoming the prey of thoſe devouring monopolizers, who are ever ready to take advantage of the public diſtreſs; and this ſubſtitute may be found in the article of *rice*, which is the produce of our own colonies, and whoſe vent and conſumption we can abſolutely controul; for as it pays a very high tax if uſed in Britain, and a very ſmall one if ſent abroad, the parliament hath nothing elſe to do, in order to render the remedy effectual, but to *reverſe* the rule; or rather, if the legiſlatue would be pleaſed to lay a moderate equal duty upon it, whether conſumed at home or ſent abroad, then this regulation would produce a larger ſum to the revenue, at the ſame time that it would afford a kind refuge to our poor to fly to when purſued by a real or artificial famine.

Theſe, *Gentlemen*, are our ſentiments, in which we hope we have ſuggeſted nothing improper or impracticable, nothing inconſiſtent with commercial liberty or ſound policy; and if we may preſume to add any thing

further, it is this, that we wiſh to ſee a *repeal* of thoſe laws, which, under a notion of preventing foreſtalling, engroſſing, and badging, ſet *public* intereſt and *private* intereſt in direct oppoſition to each other, which, therefore, can produce no good effect, as ſome late inſtances have too fully proved, and which, if executed with rigor, would go near to ſtarve ſuch a country as ours. But as the *prevention* of a diſeaſe is always better than a *cure*, ſo we pleaſe ourſelves with the proſpect, that you will uſe your beſt endevors to promote ſuch wholeſome and well digeſted laws, as will hinder, as far as human foreſight can extend, calamities like the preſent from coming upon us. In confidence of receiving theſe kind and patriotic offices from you, and with repeated thanks for your paſt favors, we have the honor to ſubſcribe ourſelves,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obliged,

Stroudwater, and moſt obedient

Feb. 10, 1767. humble ſervants.'

Several parts of this judicious memorial are agreeable to the common ſenſe of the nation: but we muſt ſtruggle hard to keep things within ourſelves, leſt our *induſtry*, which is our *mine* of gold, ſhould ſtop after the preſent exigency is ſupplied: let us ſollicit for new laws, in hopes the *eyes of the proprietors of lands*, or ſome conſiderable part of them, may be opened to behold *their true intereſt*, which, in the iſſue, cannot be different from that of the people who are to conſume the produce of them. In

the mean while, the efforts now made to draw proviſions from his majeſty's dominions in America, and from the ſeveral parts of Europe, ſo as to reduce the exorbitant prices at home, will probably help on the operation.

One would imagine the culture of the lands of this iſland cannot, upon the whole view, render them worſe in themſelves. But if, by ſuch improvements, the *landlord*, upon a notion of giving an equivalent value, drives a a family off the ground, and *that* family is to procure a ſupport, and the land ſo improved doth not furniſh to ſuch family the ſame ſupport they had before, then it is injurious, and there muſt be a deficiency.

The converting of lands into paſture, and the breeding horſes for exportation; or cattle, whoſe fleſh is to *coſt* or to be *ſold* at 5 or 6 pence a pound, will be of no avail to a family of *laboring people*.

If our manufactures decline, and decline they will in ſome places, and upon ſome occaſions, there muſt be ſome other mode of induſtry provided, ſo that ſo much work which a man, humanly ſpeaking, has in his own breaſt, and his own hand to perform, may furniſh ſuch a ſupport; and what can this be but *working* the earth?

In this view, if one man not having an excluſive property, manages ſo as to appropriate to himſelf a *thouſand* acres, and leaves another man without *one*, how can this anſwer the end of ſupplying ſuch defect by the means of manufactory?

Let then the poor man who promiſes to be active, and whoſe character is not much impeached, or perhaps

ſtands

ſtands very fair, in proportion to his ability, and the number of his family, have 1, 2 or 3 acres of ſuch land as may be ſuppoſed to be within his compaſs to cultivate.

I am informed of ſeveral perſons near *Newbury*, who have 5 or 6 acres of ground on the commons, on which they have built cottages for their own uſe, and incloſed land for a garden, and an orchard, and the reſt for graſs for a cow, or ſheep, or for corn. They alſo keep a hog, with geeſe and fowls, ſo that they have proviſions for *ſale*, as well as for their own conſumption. Not that their land is ſufficient to maintain them; the men work for the farmers neareſt to them, and the women and children ſpin. Thus they taſte the ſweets of induſtry, and ſuch a portion of independency as ſeems to be eſſential to a *free* country. Their hearts and their hands are kept employed. They are comfortable, becauſe they are *free*; and induſtrious, becauſe being free, they are ſure of enjoying the fruits of their induſtry.

Is not ſuch a plan eligible to the *monopolizing of lands?* Is not this the ſource of monopolizing the produce of the earth? Doth not the firſt create a *real*, the ſecond an artificial ſcarcity? And what proſpect have we of any change for the better? The ſame cauſe will produce the ſame effect: and if by the *mutual intereſt of individuals* is meant, that the laboring part of mankind, inſtead of their lives being rendered more ſecure, comfortable, and dependant on their own induſtry, their ſupport is rendered precarious, and totally dependant on the ſmiles or frowns of a ſuperior, his private bounty, or his contribu-

tributions by *poor's-rates*, we may in a few years behold ourſelves on ſuch lands as are ſeen abroad for many hundred miles together, where idleneſs, and beggary, are the badges of the ſlavery of the *poor*, and the inſolence of the *rich*.

Therefore, Sir, I wiſh that ſuch generous benefactors to their country and mankind as the memorialiſts, would turn their thoughts upon the means of having no occaſion to apply abroad to countries leſs fertile than our own; and from whence there will be leſs *certainty* of a ſupply. For granting the propriety of a temporary relief, it bears a great affinity with ſending for ſoldiers from other lands to guard our fields. We muſt give them our gold and ſilver for doing that which we cannot truſt to; which we might do better ourſelves; and which it is a ſhame and diſhonor we ſhould not do.

Let us then moſt ſeriouſly and diſpaſſionately conſider what is moſt juſt, moſt humane, and moſt conſiſtent for a free and intelligent nation, rather than the immediate profit of individuals, who are adding fields to fields to breed up their children with high ſentiments of grandeur, which may terminate in the national poverty of the multitude, and the ſplendid ſlavery of a ſmall number.

If *commons* and *waſtes* were laid out, and a few acres given to every honeſt laboring man, paſt a certain age; or who has a wife, or a certain number of children, or upon the occaſion of a man's marriage, and let it be the object of the lord of the manor to cultivate this political humanity and pious regard to his country, I am ſtrongly induced to think both *reaſon* and *experience* will juſtify the expectation, that the iſſue will be an encreaſe of people, and a plenty for *their ſupport*, without encumber-

ing

ing the rich with ſuch numerous calls for the relief of miſery. The conditions of ſuch tenure ſhould be by ſome peculiar law, for the *cultivation*, and whereby the parties may be diſabled from ſelling the land without very good reaſons, and a particular licence for that purpoſe.

Such lands would become a nurſery for farmers, and the whole face of our earth be overſpread with the inſtruments of food and raiment, and guard againſt our people going abroad, leſt when proviſions become cheap in America, they ſhould wander thither. Beggary may thus become in moſt caſes puniſhable as a crime.

As the caſe now ſtands, the lands being let into fewer hands than in times paſt, produce ſo much leſs of the ſeveral neceſſaries of life, than if more people were employed as farmers. Plenty ariſes from numbers; but if any conſiderable portion of the moſt uſeful part of our fellow-ſubjects, inſtead of being cheriſhed by a generous landlord, are diſcharged, the landlord himſelf will feel the effects of it; and if his wants are encreaſed by his laviſh expence, it will cut doubly againſt him; for if this again ſets his wits to work how to make more of his lands, with the leaſt trouble and attention, he will become indifferent whether he encreaſes or diminiſhes the national ſtrength, till the evil falls on him with double force.

We are ſure that in the courſe of half a century, ſome lands have been raiſed in their rents from 20 to 50 per cent. of their former value, and many doubled, whilſt the conſumption of the produce has been augmented, and conſequently the price of them muſt alſo riſe, and with it, the price of our produce in general, till we ſink under our own *extravagant conduct*.

Whether

Whether the landlord raiſes the land, and the farmer the price of the produce; or the farmer is enriched by the generoſity of the landlord, the *laboring part of the people*, and the *public*, may ſuffer equally the ſame. It may be preſumed, that no one intended harm to his country, or apprehended any miſchief would happen; and various reaſons may have concurred to raiſe the price: and ſo long as we went on without complaint, the miſchief lurked in ambuſcade: now it ſeems to ſhow itſelf, though not yet in full diſplay.

Without delivering rent-rolls, landlords might eaſily give up the time their leaſes have to run, and how many acres of land on each; the number of people formerly employed, including their families, and the number who are at preſent occupied. If this could be aſcertained with any preciſion, it would give a ſtateſman a clear inſight into the nature of the caſe, which may not be always rightly repreſented.

Next to this is the making up an account by ſuch gentlemen as will take the trouble to collect materials, to ſee how the matter ſtands in particular places. If the whole cannot be exactly eſtimated by a part, it will ſhew how the cauſe operates.

To ſay, that as a nation, we are ſo much *richer* than we were, when we are ſo much in debt, may ſeem to be a paradox, unleſs we pay off our debts. But granting that we *are* richer upon the whole, the laboring part can be ſaid to be richer only in proportion to the price of labor, and the conſtancy of employment. In the ſame degree as either of theſe are defective, they are poorer:

and if to this we add the additional price of the produce of the earth, if it exceeds the additional price of labor, then they are ſo much poorer ſtill than they were, which I take to be the caſe. And if *they* are not in a ſtate of comfort, it will ſoon entail diſtreſs on thoſe who depend on the labor of ſuch perſons, which it is undeniable we *all* do. Therefore ſomething ſeems neceſſary to be done in order to the radical inveſtigation of the evil.

When men of large fortunes, capable of diſcerning wherein the welfare of their country conſiſts, and the high and honorable relation in which they ſtand to the community, will enter ſeriouſly into the ſubject, many will probably change their rule of conduct. To ſay there is *no virtue* left amongſt us, is as abſurd as it is falſe. It is a proof that there is *ſome virtue*, becauſe it is certain that we *exiſt:* and we cannot tell what good we are capable of, till we are put to the trial.

As to improvements already made, we muſt ſuppoſe they will be attended with happy effects.—If a man builds elegant houſes of 200l. per ann. rents, and finds no tenants at above 100l. he *muſt* let them; and it may be better in the iſſue that they are ſo well built; and that his tenants continue to pay 100l. per ann. than *break* in his debt at 200l. and leave him afterwards without any tenants.

We already feel ſome bad effects from the preſent plan of temporary private profits: it cannot be ſupported on the principle of *private good*, when extended to the future, much leſs will it produce *public* good. So it ſeems to be, and ſhall we wait till ſome great diſtreſs invades

us? Hath the love of money, and the pleaſures it furniſhes, taken ſuch hold upon us, as not to allow leiſure, for reflexion?

The primary cauſe may be traced to our national debt, thence to our *manners*, thence to the want of energy in government, ariſing from theſe cauſes: and theſe are both indeed the cauſes and the effects. The veſting ſo much property in individuals as the debt amounts to, has aſſiſted them to improve their fields, and the improvement has raiſed the rents. This has furniſhed the means of a greater expence, which hath ſtill encreaſed with the gratifications it has afforded. Had it ſtopt here, we ſhould not be plunged ſo deep: but in addition to the advanced rents, there is an accumulation of taxes. Theſe have furniſhed occaſions for the greater exactions on each other, and a kind of univerſal *inconvenience* to ſome, and *diſtreſs* to others, hath enſued. We have run up the prices of every thing upon each other, and have very little proſpect of their being lowered again in any conſiderable degree, till we trace the cauſe to its firſt principle, and remove it.

I am yours, &c.

Induſtry and Benevolence the two great Props of the Government, and Happineſs of a People.

LETTER XXXV.

AMIDST the *calamities* we labor under, for ſo I *muſt* call them, it is our peculiar felicity that our natural genius and climate lead us to be active; that

our martial ſpirit invigorates our activity; that our freedom gives ſecurity to our property, and our induſtry becomes always *comfortable*, ſometimes *delightful*. Nor is this our only advantage: no people on the face of the earth can boaſt of a more fertile, or better improved land, nor of ſuch proviſion for thoſe who are in real diſtreſs, as we have made. But it requires experience, and knowledge of the comparative conditions of mankind, for a community or private perſons to know when they are well, and ought to be contented.

The advantage of the *poor's-rate*, derived from our laws, is a circumſtance which ought to excite ſo much the higher gratitude in the poor, becauſe it is a *legal eſtabliſhment*: but they are apt to ſtop ſhort, and think it ſufficient that they can *demand* a ſupport. If we contemplate the goodneſs of Providence, in the benignity of that government which engages its authority in behalf of ſuch right, it ſurely demands the gratitude of individuals. Where it has a contrary effect, it muſt ariſe from *perverſeneſs* or *ignorance*.

A habit of thinking of their *liberty*, is apt to make them imagine themſelves intitled to all the *good* which can be done them; but as to the *return* they are to make, by the *utmoſt labor* they are capable of; and their regular ſubmiſſion to that very ſyſtem of laws, from which they derive the advantage; this requires a degree of reflexion beyond what is generally to be expected of mankind, eſpecially the very young, or very old, very infirm, or very profligate, who are a great part of the objects of this national munificence.

To

To form a juſt idea of the ſituation of every part of mankind, there muſt be ſubdiviſions of them. If we diſtinguiſh the old and the young, and divide the *virtuous* from the *vicious*, and the able-bodied from the ſick and maimed; and ſeparate the ſexes alſo; and are allowed room for ſuch diſtinctions and ſeparations, it will be leſs difficult to inveſtigate our object, and to form a plan of relief, inſtruction, and correction. The rioting pleaſures of the wealthy, with the general effects of modern diſſipation, and the inſolent demands of paupers which are ſometimes made, have a greater affinity than at firſt ſight you may be ſenſible of. When either forget their moral and religious obligations, the event is never happy. Nor doth the removal of this evil require the auſterity, which ſome perſons, or ſome ages, have affected; but a pleaſant, equal philanthropy, with ſuch good diſcipline and order, as every ſtate practiſes which retains any thing like the genuine purity of freedom and civilization. Tranſient efforts of liberality, which ebb or flow, as our purſes are empty or full, can by no means counterpoiſe the miſeries to which mankind are ſubject. Yet if the *poor* may do themſelves juſtice, *according to their own opinion*, what will become of the *liberty* or *property* of the people in general?

If we are ſo ſubject to complaints under circumſtances of little diſtreſs, what is to happen when any heavy calamity comes upon us, and when nothing but the genuine love of God and our neighbor can ſupport us? We muſt therefore urge the neceſſity of inculcating the firſt great principle, *the virtue of individuals*, as interwoven

woven with the frame and conſtitution of the body politic; and what cannot be accompliſhed by reaſon and diſcourſe, muſt be attempted by the rod of the magiſtrate. At the ſame time, if we mean that the common people ſhould be *contented* with ſuch a meaſure of the neceſſaries of life as they can generally obtain by *induſtry*, the ſuperior ranks muſt alſo be contented, under ſome preſſures, to practiſe ſome *forbearance* from their indulgences.

If the common people are rendered ſober, and without becoming enthuſiaſts, obſerve the precepts of their religion, it will be the moſt effectual guard againſt a diſpoſition to *idleneſs*, which is generally attended with *penury*.

The poverty of many *livings*, and the quality of many who do the duty of them, are I conceive the reaſon, on too many occaſions, why the ſpirit of induſtry flags: for if men are taught, in the ſtrength of reaſon, the power of elocution, and the ſanctity of the goſpel, that honeſt induſtry is an eſſential part of religion, and the wages of it a reward of virtue, and an earneſt of happineſs after death; there are but few who cannot be prevailed on to work according to their reſpective abilities. Thoſe who are unworthy of any other ſupport, than ſuch as is given to common felons, *bread* and *water*, let us confine them till they come to their ſenſes. The difficulty is, to whoſe hands ſuch power may be entruſted. We have laws for ſuch purpoſes; why they ſleep, I know not.

Some of our ſectaries, who perhaps entertain falſe notions of religion, in general agree in this great point, that

that *thoſe who will not work ſhould not eat*: but a ſtrange notion to the contrary has prevailed, which ſets induſtry and piety at a kind of variance; and from an opinion, that ſome of theſe ſectaries adopt the precept of *praying without ceaſing*, in a literal ſenſe, and conſequently that they do nothing but pray; to avoid this miſtake, too many neither pray nor work. Many, who never pray, I fear are the greateſt drones and the moſt worthleſs members of the community.

There is as great an indignation in honeſt minds, to ſubmit to confinement, when they can enjoy liberty, as to be idle when they can work; therefore to drag ſuch to workhouſes, who occaſionally aſk a ſmall aſſiſtance, is as *impolitic* as *cruel*. They leave their homes, where they have been uſed to work, as reluctantly, as thoſe who are unuſed to labor chearfully accept of any terms, provided they may indulge their indolence. It is therefore of the utmoſt conſequence to diſtinguiſh perſons and characters, and treat them with tenderneſs and judgment. As much depends on this rule towards *adults*, in the diſpoſal of pariſh-rates, as in the *care of infants*: one pariſh officer is vigilant, merciful, and intelligent, and buries only 10 in 100; and another of a contrary character ſends 90 to their *everlaſting reſt*.

Any kind of labor is better than none. But *ſpinning*, *knitting*, and *weaving*, have no end: where we ſee ſo many in rags, there is a boundleſs field of employment. It was the policy of the great colony-ſettler *Mr. Penn*, that every one ſhould have a trade; the *poor*, that they

may

may earn their bread; and the *rich*, that, under any change of fortune, they might preſerve themſelves from any acute diſtreſs. I have already told you my opinion as to the poor in general being early taught to mend their own clothes, and the *females* to learn to mend and *make* theirs; that none being in *rags*, its concomitant *filthineſs*, which is made an inſtrument to excite commiſeration, and which is ſo often abuſed, may be conſidered as a kind of prodigy, and the party treated as inſane or an impoſtor. If he is employed, he may earn his *food* and *raiment*; and if he is not, he may find time to *patch* and *clean* his coat. And ſuch a vagabond being apprehended and found ignorant, the pariſh to which the party belonged ſhould be anſwerable in a certain fine, if it ſhall appear that the neglect of inſtruction is chargeable to their account.

Raiment is the next great object to food, and the making, patching, and darning, might occupy many an hour which the field does not call for; and plenty of raiment, tight and clean, be the natural produce of *induſtry*. Such employment would become the trueſt friend and *protector* of innocency, againſt the numerous train of miſchiefs which always attend on *idleneſs*.

Nor would I ſtop here: Every man born to labor ſhould be a *gardener*, in a certain degree. If he had knowledge how to make the moſt of ground, it would be a good reaſon for his having a ſmall portion of the *common* earth aſſigned him, which ſeems ſo far agreeable to the intentions and wiſdom of providence. According to the ſentiments I have already mentioned to you, on the

the article of common *lands* and *waſtes*, many an honeſt peaſant, moſt worthy of our *reſpect*, would hold an acre or two, or three.

And why ſhould not the laboring part of mankind be early taught, as it were in the ſchool of the world, what belongs to the ſecuring a *cottage* from the inclemency of the ſkies? If they learn to build a mud-wall or a brick one, and to thatch it over themſelves, when they cannot afford to pay for it, no miſery of this kind would appear on the face of the earth. It is likewiſe the property of induſtry and knowledge how to live, to multiply, and encreaſe.

There is ſuch a propenſity to action in man, and ſuch reſources in his mind againſt natural and moral evils, that the efforts of a *good landlord*, might operate as a kind of miracle. We ſee what is done by the ſpirit, fire, and reputation of a *general* of an army, for whom a ſoldier is determined to *conquer*, or to *die*.

Whole and tight garments, and a habitation to ſhelter from the ſkies, would of courſe lead the inhabitant to think the more, of the neceſſary ſupport of life in regard to *food*: and the *more* he thought of this matter, for himſelf and his children, the leſs occaſion there would be for others to think for him; and twenty ſhillings, in his own hands, might do more than forty in another perſons, eſpecially if he knew himſelf puniſhable for negligence.

The trueſt policy is to breed up people ſo as to *diſdain beggary*; and when they ſtand in real need of aſſiſtance, to give them money for ſticking pins into

the arm of a great chair, and to pull them out again, rather than not furniſh them *employment*.

I am a friend to that kind of *civilization*, which ariſes from the loweſt of mankind being taught to *read*; but not to train them up the *leſs*, but the *more*, *to labor*. Their *leſſon* ſhould be the importance of induſtry with regard to both worlds: that the price of happineſs is *labor*, and that men only change their object. Therefore I would eſtabliſh *ſchools* wherein children ſhould turn their hands to every work, tools being provided, adapted to their ſtrength. It is amazing how ſoon labor may become ſweet, and ſerve as a *paſtime*. Have you not obſerved how children dam up a puddle; build a houſe of ſticks and ſtones; drive each other as horſes, as well as ſpin, knit, darn, and do a thouſand other things? Would it not be right to favor this propenſity, in order to render them in ſome degree proficients, according to their inſtruction and ability, even before they can be placed out in the world?

For the ſame reaſon I would keep *no pariſh* children in great cities; they are wanted only for domeſtic ſervice, but become leſs capable of laborious offices, and leſs uſeful through their whole lives.

The diſpoſal of a little money in providing ſuch *early inſtruction*, as I am now ſuppoſing to be practicable, eſpecially in caſes wherein parents are dead, or ignorant, or vicious; or where they are not put in a train of making proper and early impreſſions on their children, is an object worthy the conſideration of the trueſt friends of their country and mankind.

The

The pooreſt part of the world might thus, upon all occaſions, do *ſomething* towards the ſupport of their own lives; and by the moſt natural and familiar expedients, ſeek the means of their own *comfort* and *happineſs*; ſo that when they ſhould apply for relief, under real preſſures, they might urge a reſiſtleſs claim to it; and it would be better known, by what mode to render ſuch claim entirely efficacious.

I am yours, &c

Freedom of Trade, Mediocrity of Deſire of Gain, and Rectitude of Manners, eſſential to Britiſh Grandeur.

LETTER XXXVI.

TRADE has long been the *word:* if our *ſouls* depended on it, we ſhould not talk of it ſo much. As a nation of merchants, we ought to be attentive to it: but as a nation of politicians, we ſhould guard againſt the evils, as well as cheriſh in our minds the good reſulting from it, and conſider if leſs with more virtue, be not more advantageous to us, than more with leſs virtue. Heaven hath ſo determined, that to fall with *virtue* is more glorious than to triumph with *vice*. If we depart ſo far from the paths of nature, as to ſet no limits to our deſires of worldly grandeur, the very principle will deſtroy itſelf; for if by worldly grandeur is meant, the *luſt of the eye and the pride of life*, there is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no greatneſs in them: one tender ſentiment for virtue in diſtreſs, has more intrinſic grandeur than the ſhew of fifty domeſtics in the richeſt

liveries. The one proceeds from the heart that ſeeks acquaintance with the great lord of the univerſe; the other, that which ſeeks applauſe of a childiſh multitude.

If we forget that the beams of the ſun are more eſſential to happineſs than the brilliancy of the diamond; and the limpid ſtream more valuable than the richeſt juice of the grape: If we forget that a heart gladened with innocency is incomparably beyond all the triumphs of the proudeſt equipage and perſonal furniture, or the moſt ſumptuous repaſt, which *trade* can furniſh: In a word, if we forget that the command of the riches of the whole earth, and all the enjoyments they can furniſh, are any thing more, in the great view of our exiſtence, than a probation for another ſtate where only there is permanency; from that moment, whether as a nation, or as individuals, we are ſubject to become a prey to vain deſires and deluſive hopes, and to periſh by our own imaginations.

This is a doctrine which we do not attend to, tho' it is in effect the duty of the *man* and the *chriſtian* to underſtand it clearly; and the lord or gentleman, the merchant or mechanic, who imagines he hath any other intereſt of ſo much conſequence, is ſurely miſtaken.

But beſides the paſſions and appetites of men, which lead them into temptation, where their reaſon *ſeems* to be often too weak to reſtrain them; or their conſcience is violated by the force they put on it; in trade there is an adventitious paſſion, *the love of gain*, in which nature has a ſmaller ſhare, yet by habit it operates as ſtrongly as any other.

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As a *free* people, *liberty* is the object for which we wiſh to live, or dare to die; and, ſtrictly examined, it is the firſt concern of every individual to preſerve his neighbor, whether it coſt him a little more or leſs. The further he departs from this rule, the more he may be conſidered as *inſane*, or forfeiting his right of protection, if not, in fact, an enemy to the commonwealth.

This, at leaſt, is the language of philoſophy, and the true idea of liberty: and freedom is eſſential to our commerce, as commerce to our ſupport, on our preſent plan of national greatneſs. The laboring part of our fellow-ſubjects being without trade, would ſink into greater poverty; and people of property be conſtrained to change their mode of living. But it is not gold nor ſilver, nor ſplendid arts, nor even induſtry alone, which can ſupport a nation in freedom or in power. It is *virtuous cuſtoms and manners*. Theſe are the guardian angels of liberty and laws: without them opulency is but a ſhackle to bind and enſlave, though it be made with gold or adamant.

Moderation in our deſires of gain, and temperance in our enjoyments, are the parents of mutual juſtice, and as eſſential to the welfare of a *country*, as to the ſafety of a *ſoul*. "*He that maketh haſte to be rich ſhall not be innocent.*" This was the maxim of a man of the moſt conſummate wiſdom: and if *we* have diſcovered, upon the whole of our exiſtence as a nation, or as individuals, that wealth will anſwer all the ends of national welfare; it is an *amazing improvement* on the ſagacity of ancient times; and more amazing ſtill that we ſhould *ſquander* our wealth.

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We are apt to be prodigal in our curſes of a miniſter of ſtate, who but ſeems to erect trophies on the ruins of the people; or in other words, to promote any private intereſt by practices injurious to the public welfare. Yet we are mighty apt to forget that whatever is applicable to a miniſter, muſt hold for any *private man*, who in his ſeveral relations is the cauſe of the ſufferings of the poor in particular, or of his country in general.

It is apparent in the eye of common ſenſe, that the liberty, and conſequently the ſplendor and ſafety of this nation, depend on the virtue of individuals as much in their traffic as in any other inſtance; for it is in the power of any private man, who is maſter of a large fortune, to act ſuch a part either by *buying* or ſelling, as to create diſtreſs or prevent it, and conſequently to drive people into dangerous practices.

Even in caſes not extremely flagrant, attempts to prevent the free courſe of traffic, operate as a violation on liberty. Where private intereſt predominates over public good, it is apt to raiſe indignation even to the contempt of all danger: and thus ſelf-love operates, either to preſerve, or to deſtroy. When a real ſcarcity prevails (to which it would be folly to ſuppoſe *we* are not ſubject) the people who enjoy one common freedom, forgetting its proper bounds, or not conceiving the real truth of things, may hardly be kept in ſubmiſſion to the laws of their country; and a leſſer evil may bring on a greater. Hence it is evident that liberty, not ſupported by virtue, tends to its own diſſolution, in the very circumſtance where it is moſt wanted. It is not *laws* alone will

avail

avail us: theſe are admirable weapons in the hands of the ſtrong, but weak defences in the poſſeſſion of the weak.

A ſpirit of gain is, however, a vital principle in a trading country, and if it is checked without diſcretion, both it and freedom will ſicken and droop together, and bring on many of the ſame miſchevous effects, as the want of induſtry. Nothing requires freedom ſo much as commerce: and we have need of the more *private* virtue, from the conſideration that "Guilt ſticks as cloſe to buying and ſelling as the nail which is driven between two ſtones."

If we, conſidering ourſelves as the ſubjects of a *limited* monarchy, preſume beyond meaſure, we ſhall forget that we are creatures accountable to our Maker and ſovereign Lord, whoſe power is without limit. Our actions may paſs unexamined here by any earthly tribunal; but this will not juſtify our extortions: be they *greater or leſs than imagined*, they muſt be accounted for. If our conſciences grow callous, we ſhall ſacrifice only at the altars of *pride* or *avarice*; and the moſt glorious fabric of government, ever erected by human art, wil be brought down to the common level of human miſery.

In every view, if we do not poiſe the balance of freedom and commerce with the hand of virtue and benevolence, the weight of vice will preponderate.

Nothing can be more ſelf-evident than that *trade* requires *freedom*; but it is no leſs apparent that *true* freedom muſt be diſtinguiſhed from *falſe*. Our forefathers, in the infancy of trade, made laws againſt the various

modes of mutual oppreſſion; and perhaps, under preſſing circumſtances, *that* might be then deemed oppreſſion, which is not ſuch. In thoſe days we did not enjoy ſo much liberty as at preſent; and in proceſs of time as freedom has hardly known any limits, ſo long as plenty abounded, the *eager purſuit* of *gain* has anſwered our moſt ſanguine wiſhes. Our laws, reſpecting buying and ſelling the neceſſaries of life, having thus been conſidered as obſolete, the revival of them has ſomething more of terror than of any law which comes new from the hands of the legiſlator. The hunger of the poor, crying aloud, has awakened us, yet the only counterpoiſe we can find for the avarice of one, where it exiſts to any miſchievous degree, is the generoſity of another; and that as profeſſed dealers demand a price beyond what the produce of the labor of the poor will afford, the lord or gentleman, or landlord, turns dealer himſelf, with a view to counteract his tenant, and ſet the commodity at a *reaſonable* price.

If we depart from that principle by which we were enriched, namely a diffuſive kind of independency, we ſhall in the iſſue outwit ourſelves. If the landlord retains ſo much land as may be in ſome meaſure equal to his ſupport, and lets out parts to inferior tenants, induſtry may have a greater ſpur by profit, and liberty a better ſupport from generoſity; private neceſſity may urge every one to action, and no *one* accumulate a power deſtructive of the commonwealth. This indeed requires great attention, on the part of the landlord, for the improvement of his eſtate, and the collection of his rents; but is not this *his real, true, aud proper buſineſs*, as a

member

member of the community? If every landlord runs mad after the luxury and emoluments of a court, his rich tenant will follow his example, and aſpire alſo at being a *lord*; and thus it is demonſtrable from reaſon and experience, that in proceſs of time the glory of the land, in the number of people living in an induſtrious independent ſtate, will be loſt; and we ſhall become as moſt other nations are, compoſed of very high and very low, opulent lords and miſerable vaſſals.

We ſeem to be ſenſible of this, and that we muſt make ſome arrangement to prevent that convulſive diſtemper which luxury has introduced. This is neceſſary to great wealth and a habit of indulgence. If we have virtue enough to correct ourſelves in time, and to think of comfort and ſafety, as well as parade and luxurious enjoyments, we can hardly fail of the great end in view.

I remember a ſtory which I heard in my early days of life, and which made a deep impreſſion on my mind, being bred a merchant, concerning the alliance of benevolence, juſtice and liberty, in the traffic of mankind.

A certain perſon who had been one of the farmers of the revenue in France, had acquired a fortune, ſufficient to enable him to command the price of bread at Paris. He bought up vaſt quantities of corn; but to cloak his deſign, he uſed the names of other people who were agents under him. In conſequence of this meaſure the inhabitants of Paris were greatly diſtreſſed. Their murmurings reached the ears of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who, if I remember right, was then prime miniſter in that country. He immediately ſent for this gentleman monopo-

lizer, and he came in ſuch a rich garb, and ſuch a gilded chariot, as ſuch a perſon, being a *Frenchman*, might be ſuppoſed to ride in. After making the gentleman attend ſome time to ruminate on the buſineſs he might poſſibly be ſent for, his Eminency gave order for his admittance, and aſked him, whether *he dealt in corn?* he anſwered, "*No: I had formerly the honor to ſerve his Majeſty in farming part of his revenues, and I now live upon the little fortune I poſſeſs.*" Upon this the Cardinal took him to the window, and pointing to the fine chariot which ſtood in the court yard, aſked him whoſe it was? — the gentleman bowed, as you may imagine, expecting a compliment upon the elegancy of his taſte, and ſatisfied his Eminency of what he knew very well before. "*Well,*" ſays the Cardinal, "*on the ſpot where that chariot ſtands, will a gallows be erected; and if bread is not at a price to-morrow* (which he mentioned) *you ſhall be hanged upon it, which is all I have to ſay to you,*" and then took his leave with the *politeſſe* of a Frenchman. The bread fell accordingly to the price limited, and the gentleman ſaved his neck.

Now you will give me leave to ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of that city being, from this moment, ſo much the leſs afraid of ſeeing their children ſtarved by the cruelty of exaction, thought themſelves happy under an *arbitrary* government. The *law of nature* forbids that people ſhall be ſtarved, and the ſupreme magiſtrate is juſtly ſtiled with us, *Salus Populorum*; and the preſervation of the people being the end of government, it can never be thought that one has a right derived from his ſocial

ſtate,

ſtate, to revel in exceſs, when another is ſtarving: yet private vindictive juſtice, whether in the *gentleman* that puniſhes by the ſword, for crimes of a more fantaſtic nature, which the *laws deride*, or take no cognizance of; or the *Plebean*, who reſents the injury he receives from the avarice of his rich neighbor, both wreſting the ſword out of the hand of the magiſtrate, muſt bring on very pernicious conſequences, and when extended to numbers, ſubvert the beſt formed government that ever exiſted.

How to draw the line ſo as to leave freedom to trade, liberty to the people, and obtain a benevolent exerciſe of juſtice to individuals, is one of the moſt arduous taſks which can be the ſubject of political enquiry. And if what is ſhort in the power of laws, is not made up by the virtue of individuals, *i. e.* the *law of conſcience*, either arbitrary government muſt take place, or what is worſe, anarchy and confuſion.

Thus it is that vice deſtroys liberty, as moſt of the nations in the world have experienced to their ſorrow. Whether theſe evils are greater or leſs with us, we muſt live in hopes of a remedy. But if in ſuch inſtances, as the caſe of the *infant poor*, we ſuffer the growing generation to die, whether proviſions be dear or cheap, under a notion that we cannot afford to keep them alive, we ſhall certainly cut down the tree to gather the fruit. We may revel upon the *ſavings* to-day, but we ſhall periſh to-morrow.

The extremity of cold and the extremity of heat operate on the human frame in a manner equally pernicious. Avarice and extravagancy create rapaciouſneſs; and a

rapacious diſpoſition, ſuch offences againſt the natural juſtice due from man to man, as is hardly controulable by any thing but arbitrary power. This is one of the cauſes which has induced nations, from a natural ſtate of freedom, to fly to ſuch power as their *laſt reſort*.

If people of large fortunes ſet no bounds to the prices of what they *conſume*, thoſe who ſell them will ſet no bounds to *their demands*. But if they will ſhow examples, and not exceed a certain price, they may be ſure of one of two things, either that the price will be as low as they chuſe to purchaſe at, or that they ſhall find ſomething beſides as good. I ſpeak of moderation as a *faſhion*, not a limitation of price by law.

It is our riches, and the extravagant uſe of them, which has turned the brains of the inferior claſſes of the people. The butcher and the baker think they have a good title to partake of the fortunes of thoſe who have acquired vaſt eſtates by public or private concerns. A proſperous commerce has a natural tendency to raiſe the price of materials, and labor; but the advanced price of theſe will, in proceſs of time, wound if not deſtroy that very commerce which occaſioned their riſe.

All things have their bounds; and it is our duty to obſerve where they terminate. Our eyes being open to the real ſituation of our national intereſt, I hope we ſhall comply with the *obvious decrees of Heaven*, and reflect that the wealth, created by commerce, not virtuouſly employed, will eſtabliſh the dominion of vice and tyranny, and bring on poverty and diſtreſs.

Our preſent paſſion for gain hardly leaves room for the exerciſe of thoſe virtues which are congenial to our humanity, and the love of liberty. Not contented with the rank and emolument, which certain conditions and occupations might reaſonably allow, according to men's ſkill and induſtry, there is nothing ſo big but every man aſpires at it: yet to accompliſh this end, we muſt prey on each other's vitals by combinations and every art of exaction. And what is the conſequence but petty tyranny, arbitrary power in the hands of individuals, and oppreſſion of the poor. Power is properly veſted in government, but this apparently oppoſes the genius and deſign of our happy conſtitution.

So long as this ſpirit prevails, liberty will militate againſt itſelf. Freedom cannot ſubſiſt without that virtue which leads ſubjects, in a certain degree, to conſult each others benefit; and to avoid ſuch injurious practices as *are not* within the letter of the law, as well as thoſe that *are*.

What a wretched, narrow, and confined uſe, do many make of great fortunes! The external ſplendor and parade of life, which are ſo apt to monopolize the heart, will not permit them to ſearch into the receſſes of *private* miſery or *public* wants. At the ſame time it muſt be granted, that our genius and liberty incline us to be *charitable*, and when the utmoſt exertion of our benevolence is called forth, upon any preſſing occaſion, we are diſtinguiſhed for our generous acts.

Let us hope ſomething great will be done, now that we are not involved in war; in order to avoid war,

or

or to provide for it, if it ſhould pleaſe providence to call us again to arms. The deſtruction of one man ſometimes proves the benefit of another: and ſo far as this is in the order of providence, we not only acquieſce, but whilſt we lament what appears to be an evil to one, we thank heaven for the good which arrives to another.

In regard to war, which we ſhould always remember, as an evil almoſt inſeparable from the ſtate of human life, *many profit* by it; *many wiſh* for it, *all* muſt *provide* for it. If we can be made to underſtand, practically, that it is a calamity with which it pleaſes heaven to chaſtiſe mankind, and that we live under the happieſt government on earth, which muſt be guarded, it will naturally lead us all to contentment and ſubmiſſion to providence, and not render us leſs eager in making ourſelves ready, though unwilling to draw our ſwords till neceſſity requires. But if we behold our fellow-ſubjects amaſſing vaſt fortunes at the expence of the nation, and the injury of individuals, ſuch practices are ſo dangerous to a free plan of government, that the next ſtep is to cry out for arbitrary power, as the leaſt evil of the two. I am yours, &c.

The great Importance of paying off a conſiderable Part of the National Debt, as the only Means of relieving the Nation.

LETTER XXXVII.

WHAT doth it avail to complain of the exceſſive price of the neceſſaries of life, unleſs we rectify the vices and intemperance, or political deluſions, which

which have occaſioned their being ſo high; and the calamitous conſequences of war, which have confirmed the evil. If we mean to acquire a permanency as a *free* and an *honeſt* people, no *fund* ſhould, I think, exiſt a longer term than five years after a war, beyond a certain limitation, the intereſt of which ſhould not exceed above a ſixth, or at moſt a *fifth* part of the revenues of the nation. What is beyond it ſeems to have a tendency to deſtroy the freedom, the juſtice, the credit, and the ſafety of the nation, both with regard to ourſelves at home, and our connections with the people of thoſe countries with whom we trafic, or are occaſionally involved in war.

It muſt be confeſſed that every man pays according to his conſumption, yet the produce of our funds, and the produce of our lands, are equal with regard to the *laboring part of the nation*, who are the firſt to be conſidered, but in effect receive emoluments directly from neither.

The glory of our country, the happy produce of our induſtry, and our prolific ſoil, ſeem to ſhine forth moſt in the vaſt numbers of people in the middle condition, ſome advancing towards the higher ranks, ſome declining to the lower ſtations, ſome poor, yet all living, or might live, in comfort, partaking of plenty. If trade, and the cultivation of the arts of peace, leads ſome into imprudence or misfortunes, our laws make proviſions for diſtreſſes of every kind. The *great* ſeldom want friends, the *poor* have their pariſh-rates and hoſpitals; and where ſhall we find ſuch a ſpirit of benignity

benignity as in the mercantile world! The rigor of our ſeaſons can hardly plunge the poor into inſupportable calamities, provided they will labor. Yet if they are ſubject to heavy taxes, which are paid away, in a very large proportion, for the intereſt of a vaſt public debt, ſuch an accumulation of property in the hands of individuals of the higher claſſes, has a natural tendency to ſubvert the plan of univerſal plenty. And, as in the courſe of time the ſtate is become debtor in a heavy ſum, the intereſt of which cannot be paid without bearing hard on the middle ranks and loweſt part of the people, it is moſt apparently our duty to examine minutely, by what equitable means, a due portion of ſuch vaſt property may revert to the *ſtate*, in order that government may hold the balance of that power which the order of providence ordained for the welfare of mankind. In the mean while it becomes the intereſt of theſe vaſt proprietors of the national property, to conſider that it aroſe from the charge of defending the whole body of the people, and *their* property; and that they cannot be paid but by the maintenance and ſupport of ſuch ſubjects as are not ſecurable, but by the firm eſtabliſhment of government, which cannot bear ſo heavy a load for any length of time: therefore they muſt change the quality of the property, and leſſen the quantity of it, eſpecially when they diſcover how this may be done, ſo as to render it to all intents and purpoſes the more valuable.

Whatever

Whatever benefit the poor receive by the reduction of the price of *their conſumption*, the rich will neceſſarily enjoy in proportion to theirs.

We are arrived to ſuch a degree of unequal diſtribution, that our common parent is become dependent on ſome of her rich children, which obliges her to draw riches out of the ſweat of the poorer part of the family, to gratify the lawful demands of the richer. This is the nature of our enormous public debt; and it calls ſo loud for a remedy, that nothing leſs than taxes, which affect real property, where it exiſts, can reſtore the true power of government. For if the rich continue as it were to wring from the hands of the poor, any conſiderable part of the produce of their labor, the event cannot be happy.

Near four millions and a half, paid to the public purſe, revert to *individuals*, and yet theſe ſpend more than their income! Being ſo rich, as *creditors* of the ſtate, we ſeem to think only of our ability of expence, ariſing from that credit, and not of our obligation as *debtors*, ſtanding in the place of the *ſtate*, to which we are ſubjects. Many of us who have large incomes, are in diſtreſs, and it is no wonder, if we go to market with little prudence, and leſs ready money; the conſequence of this is, that we often pay 20 per cent. for proviſions more than they are worth. The common people will therefore find it difficult to obtain the neceſſaries of life within the compaſs of the produce of their labor. The higher ranks having accumulated a vaſt property, firſt run up the price of land, and then give whatever is demanded for the produce of it,

which becomes the eſtabliſhed prices of things. The remedy of both evils is obvious; but when we hear it, we depart like the young man in the parable, except that we are not diſtreſſed in mind on the occaſion, as he is repreſented to have been, conſcious of being diſinclined to do the thing his reaſon moſt approved.

How is it poſſible for the ſtate to pay, but by the labors of the field, the ſhop, and the loom? Theſe, by a natural train of conſequences, are the only reſources. But if we go beyond the ſtrength of the laboring part of the people, to keep the wheel of commerce in a quick and regular motion, the leaſt ſtop will render the object ſhort of its preſent value. How far their ſtrength *may* or *can* go, we may partly judge from their complaints, ſo far as we know them to be juſt.

The *public debt*, like the *public welfare*, is often treated as an object for which no one is accountable: and ſo long as the intereſt is punctually paid, the principal is vendible, and all is well. But in the mean time, the *debtor*, who, as I have obſerved, has a very large and reſpectable family, means to provide for *all* her children, and to render them all eaſy, free, and happy; but ſhe finds herſelf very *untowardly* circumſcribed. As a lady of honor, ſhe ſhudders at the thought of ſelling her eſtate to *ſtrangers*. Her affliction for having already mortgaged it ſo deep, and particularly to foreign creditors, diſturbs her ſleep. She wiſhes to find the means of paying them off, as the leſſer evil, if ſhe could borrow of her neareſt relations for this purpoſe. Her *honor* forbids her to think of any unfair means: Her connections

connections are great and powerful: Her eſtate is worth *five* times as much as ſhe owes, and *ten* times as much as ſhe needs pay off: It is the *intereſt* of her *friends* and *relations*, who have vaſt fortunes, to aſſiſt her in the moſt powerful manner; yet, by a *ſtrange fatality*, ſhe is left involved in difficulties!

It is evident, thoſe who have *no property* or patrimony, but health and labor, cannot make a transfer of any, and a debt, which upon a principle of the inability of a *debtor* never can be paid, is *a bad debt*. Now conſider this lady as our own *dear* mother and common parent, who has been moſt kind and tender to us, and let us ſee how we treat her. The *rich* are *ſpending away*, without attending to her real ſituation, which alone can render her debt good, namely, a proper proviſion for the payment of a conſiderable portion of it.

If any ſhould be conſtrained to receive their money, or a large part of it, and ſuffer inconveniences, not knowing what to do with it, the conſideration is of no weight, compared to the welfare of the laboring part of the people. Theſe are our fellow-ſubjects, and entitled to great regard: on them we primarily depend for the coat we wear, and every morſel of bread we eat; therefore to raiſe them from a ſtate of depreſſion and ſorrow, where they are really depreſſed, to vigor, health, and gladneſs, is in effect raiſing ourſelves; and thus virtue will become its own reward. Such a conduct will not fail of producing the greateſt good, and the whole face of this country will thus recover a benignant aſpect. As for the part of the debt, which

may with convenience remain; as it will acquire a more permanent ſecurity, the proprietors of it may have a *ſubſtantial title* to ſpend according to their incomes, and none of us need practiſe any diſguiſe, nor ſhall we fall into any deluſion.

Private intereſt, rightly underſtood, is moſt apparently concerned. But not to remember that we have an *intereſt* in our *country*; or to indulge an inſenſibility towards it, this will eſtabliſh the throne of ſlavery and ignorance; and penurious wretchedneſs muſt at length be our lot.

What the poet ſays of liberty, as applicable to our conſcious ſuperiority, has its ſource in our *moral* character:

" *A day, an hour of virtuous liberty,*
" *Is worth whole years of bondage!*"

Now the queſtion is, if it will not be fooliſh, as well as immoral and ſlaviſh, to ſhew a repugnance to the payment of ſuch a portion of our national debt, as ſhall immediately relieve the poorer part of our fellow ſubjects? If this will tend to the eſtabliſhment of our national ſafety, as it comprehends our civil and religious liberty, it will ward off great danger, if not ſlavery from us. And is it conſiſtent with the idea of common honeſty to decline the payment? No ſenſible man of the leaſt virtue, means to *decline* it, whatever fools or knaves may do: but how is it poſſible any part of the payment can be accompliſhed, whilſt our preſent mode of expenſive living continues in its full force?

To judge in ſome degree of our ſituation, not from *reaſoning* but from *facts*; let the amount be produced of the accounts due to lenders of money, ſtable keepers, coachmakers, and all ſellers of the neceſſaries, and ornaments of life, in 1765, which was not paid in the courſe of 1766, nor perhaps will be in 1767, and there is reaſon to believe, the total will be ſome millions. This being a ſum, excluſive of what is rolling, and exiſting in the circle of traffic, we may reckon as an *exceſs of expence* beyond our income. And if we diſable ourſelves from paying our *private debts* in due time, and ſpend upon *credit*, what common or familiar means, which are by far the moſt preferable, can ever accompliſh the payment of our *public debt?*

It is granted, that if we abridge our private expence, we abridge our public revenue;—but if we drop a tenth part of both, the ſtate will loſe *one million* in revenue, and gain *ſix* in our expences——It is alſo true, upon this principle, that many ſhould abridge a *ſixth* or an *eighth part*, becauſe it is hardly poſſible for the poorer part to ſpend any thing leſs than they do.

From the moment we make an impreſſion on the debt, as the intereſt diminiſhes we ſhall be enabled to diſcharge five or *ſix millions* per ann. for ten ſucceſſive years, gradually decreaſing taxes; relieving the poorer part of the nation; reſtoring plenty and contentment; increaſing the value of our remaining income; and giving ſtability to government, and happineſs to individuals:

viduals: and we might alſo ſoon lay by ſome millions for an emergency.

Will this be like putting out our eſtates to nurſe? *Such* a method has been found effectual in ſimilar circumſtances of private perſons, when all other expedients have failed: and if it were ſo, being our own nurſes, we ſhould not be negligent, and might hope ſoon to recover the health of our *diſtempered fortunes*.

If ſuch virtue is not to be acquired by the pure dictates of reaſon and conſcience, let us ſolicit for a rational reſtraint, rather than oppoſe any ſalutary law which may be deviſed. Let us try to make a *virtue* of *neceſſity*. The indulgence of providence will not be the leſs extended to us.

It was by virtue, liberty and induſtry, our fathers taught us to aſcend the meridian heights of earthly glory! May not our vices and libertiniſm, and love of eaſe, bring us again into poverty, darkneſs, and ſlavery? Our circumſtances require vigilance and reſolution, to reſiſt the torrent of luxury and expence, which have nearly thrown down all diſtinctions. So many baſk in the beams of affluence, their intellectual ſight is become impaired by the force of it.

If we exert the good ſenſe and virtue for which our fathers have been renowned in ſeveral ages paſt, we ſhall think ſeriouſly on what we *are*, and what we *may be*. Having learnt our own leſſon, we ſhall teach it to our children; and conſider whether it be a political opinion, and partial regard, or a real and intelligent zeal for our country, which gives a bias to our thoughts.

It cannot be prudent to wait, till *neceſſity* comes like an armed man, and diſables us from doing juſtice to ourſelves, that is, to our country. I truſt we ſhall open our eyes to a perfect diſcernment of our true intereſt, and learn how to *retrench* in the moſt familiar manner. By ſuch means we may pay nearly equal to a *tenth* of our income, ſo that in the courſe of ten years we may pay off at leaſt *ſixty* or ſeventy millions; and thus by our *ability* for war *prevent* it. This will be a happier circumſtance to our children than paying off a private mortgage of a proportionate ſum, ſuppoſing an eſtate ſo incumbered. This to all appearance will prove the only effectual remedy againſt the internal and external evils which beſet us; not *ſpeculative*, but *ſubſtantial* evils, which muſt be removed, or we ſhall be involved in a labyrinth of difficulties.

Perhaps the ſuppoſition of a payment of *ſixty* millions in *ten* years, may appear to you as romantic a propoſition as to do it in ten *days*: but conſider, Sir, that in about *half* this time we run in debt *above ſixty* millions, and that every day we live, we are but *half* the ſtate we imagine ourſelves to be, whilſt *half* our revenue is diverted to uſes foreign to the power and ſtrength of the ſtate. We may alſo ſuppoſe it probable, that in the courſe of ten or fifteen years, we ſhall be involved in a war, the expence of which it is impoſſible to limit; yet we are bound in reaſon and common ſenſe to provide for it. But this meaſure, as I have ſaid, will operate ſtronger to *prevent* war, than any thing we *can* do. In proportion as we demonſtrate wiſdom and pecuniary ſtrength, our enemies will be afraid to provoke us to arms.

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We may alſo conclude from the modern hiſtory of our country, that in proportion as our trade is preſerved by means of ſo prudential a meaſure, our merchants, huſbandmen, and manufacturers, will be the leſs tempted to clamor for war, or even to *wiſh* for it; whereas if trade declines very much, we may be induced to *quarrel*, in hopes of acquiring riches, and mending our condition, though experience ſo conſtantly proves the ruinous effects of the *wrath* of nations.

What is *ſaved* is *gained*; and as nothing delights us more than *gain*, nothing can afford ſo fair a proſpect of keeping us in humor, as being free of ſo heavy a charge.

It is demonſtrable that the paying off *half* our debt will enrich us very much, not in a pecuniary view only, but in our *numbers of men*, as it will not only encourage marriage, but upon the principle of its preventing war, it will ſave the flower of our laboring people for the more rational ends of promoting the arts of peace, and domeſtic felicity.

It ſeems to be a general complaint that we want hands, in order that more land be cultivated, and manufactures rendered cheaper. In the mean time our neighbors are not aſleep; *they* are encouraging agriculture, (*a*) and will become our rivals in the produce of our richeſt mine, *our corn-trade*; and they will flouriſh by the arts of peace at home, perhaps more than when they had vaſt uncultivated dominions in America. But there is no anſwering for their prudence, that they will not call us to arms, from their emulation in a circumſtance of a yet more intereſting nature to us than our

(*a*) See the French king's edict in July 1764.

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corn-trade, namely, their *naval power*. To judge from paſt events, they will *one day* enter into conteſt with us on this article, though the final iſſue muſt be the miſery of one or other of the two countries, perhaps of both, when both might enjoy the ſmiles of Heaven, and become the glory of *nations*.

When a ſtate is ſuffering, every individual, who does not ſympathize with it, deſerves not the name of a *good* ſubject. On the other hand, whatever example or precept tends to the eſtabliſhment of government, for the ſake of the good which attends it, abſtracted from the evil which may be dreaded, has ſomething ſo generous and beneficent to mankind as muſt engage their attention. Peace and plenty can flouriſh only where good order and due ſubordination are the ruling principles of men's actions: And the ſame turn of mind which induces us to befriend thoſe *below* us, will lead us to pray for the ſucceſs and happineſs of thoſe whom Providence has appointed to rule and government.

Truth and *juſtice*, *religion* and *piety*, are the objects without which we muſt ultimately fall. Let us implore the Deity that theſe may be eſtabliſhed in this land in every circumſtance, that the *poor* may enjoy life, and their due portion of ſuch plenty and comfort as the Author of nature preſents them when they obey his laws.

If therefore we are not *ſick* of liberty, nor think virtue *vain*, let us be *virtuous*, that we may be *free*; and *grateful*, that we may not be rejected of Heaven as un-

worthy of any further bleſſings. It is the glory of a free ſtate to exerciſe power where it is ultimately and neceſſarily lodged, with that conſiſtency, equality and tenderneſs, as may prove the good of the ſubject only to be in view. This holds in the oeconomy of a *pariſh*, up to the adminiſtration of the government of a *great empire*. In matters of difficulty, candid determinations on the ſide of liberty and humanity, are generally moſt ſafe. It is this which calms the fury of party-rage, and takes out the ſting of oppoſition. This tends to recover the exerciſe of reaſon on all ſides, and teaches us to conſider what belongs to the *public good*.

Adherence to a private or party-intereſt is the malady of *our time*. It is ſo common to think of *perſons* rather than of *things*; and of thoſe whom we know and eſteem, in preference to others whom we have no connexion with, that the conſideration of meaſures neceſſary to the *public welfare* are eaſily overlooked, or miſrepreſented, through the medium of prepoſſeſſion or affection, or the pride of adhering to an *opinion* which perhaps was never well digeſted. Let us unite in one point at leaſt, and pay off our *debt*,—in a large proportion, and particularly, if it be poſſible, that part which is due to foreigners: we may then hope for more halcyon days!

I am yours, &c.

Further

Further Thoughts on the public Debt, and the Danger of its continuing ſo large.

LETTER XXXVIII.

OUR deſire of *gain* having encreaſed with the acquiſitions made on ourſelves, by the public debt, it hath operated like a poiſon which exhilarates the ſpirits to a degree that makes the patient *dance* himſelf to death. Some it has intoxicated with a boundleſs deſire of *riches*; ſome with a deſire of a boundleſs expence; and the generality are ſo faſcinated, to act as if the more they *owe* the *richer* they ſhall be.

In the mean time our improvements in the arts of elegant life have made many things appear as neceſſary, which were not thought ſo before: and the greater our expences are, the more reluctant we ſhall be to come to reaſonable terms for our own relief. — If the *whole nation* were traders, the deſire of gain would affect only our foreign commercial intereſt: For inſtance, if the ſhoemaker required of the butcher 20 s. for a pair of ſhoes, and the butcher in return made him pay 20 s. for a leg of mutton, they would be on equal terms. But in this caſe, foreigners might bring us mutton and ſhoes clandeſtinely, and carry off the poor remains of our gold and ſilver, and all our precious moveables. And in the mean time, how is the *laboring man*, who hath no opportunity of making ſuch exactions, to live upon ſuch terms?

With regard to thoſe who are proprietors of the funds for which the nation ſtands bound, they pay a proportion to their own payment of intereſt, but many receive *fifty* times as much as they pay. This cannot be the the caſe of the laborer, who has no ſuch property. He may receive an advanced price on his labor, but he lives by *foreign* as well as *domeſtic* commerce; and many are employed no longer than foreigners will take off our produce at the prices they chuſe to buy them at. When this fails, we ſhall all feel it, but the laboring part will be the firſt to fall under the load.

We have for many years paſt reaſoned upon a principle, that the greater the *demand*, the greater would be the quantity of any commodity brought to market; and that the price would be cheap in proportion to the quantity. But we have not computed what the earth *can* produce, nor from whence the *money* ſhould ariſe to *pay* for the extraordinary conſumption beyond former times: we have not reckoned upon the drains of proviſions made for the ſupply of foreign markets; the change of faſhions in regard to tillage and paſturage, nor the inclemency of ſeaſons; ſo that we have reaſoned on principles as deluſive as our luxury.

We may *amuſe* ourſelves; but it is very obvious that the way by which all nations have grown rich, is the ſame as that which enriches private men. It was parſimony enriched the United Provinces, and made them able to defend their liberties againſt the *Spaniſh monarchy*, and *France*. It was running in debt, and living high, which brought them down again to the level of a *com-*

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pany of merchants. It was the frugality of *our* forefathers which enriched us; and it ſurely muſt be a deluſion to imagine that the community, which is compoſed of a number of individuals, can remain rich by remaining in *debt*, and continuing to be extravagant whilſt they are burthened with a heavy load of *intereſt*.

We have ſeen great fortunes made in time of war; ſome by the ſpoils of the enemy; ſome by the heavy charges of government. The firſt cannot happen in time of peace: the laſt is the evil we now deplore. In the mean while, to *one* who grows richer by an improvement of his fortune, it is to be dreaded that *five* are growing poorer by their expences. If this be ſo, what a proſpect it affords for the common ſafety! Where is the man who computes that his ſhare of the debt is ſo much, and deſires to pay it off, that his *children* may be unencumbered and happy, and the *poor* relieved? On the contrary, how few are there who do not make the very *ſame expence* as if there was no ſuch debt exiſting? Surely then we are under ſome ſtrange deluſion! If ſix or ſeven per cent. on our property, paid in ſix or ſeven years, would make the remaining 93 better worth 110, than the 100 are now worth 93: if this can be demonſtrated, what a national infatuation do we live under!

Without regard to *time* and *chance*, the evils that *daily* threaten us are of a nature, which if we attend to them, are equally ſhocking to the hearts and underſtandings of men. We are in a complicated kind of diſorder ariſing from *want*, but it is the want of virtue,

virtue, not of *reſources*. If by practices calculated for the accumulation of wealth, or the means of living in ſplendor, ſuch conſequences enſue as tend to depreſs the lower claſſes of the people, there is the utmoſt reaſon to conclude that we are making rods to ſcourge ourſelves with; becauſe if thoſe claſſes are not preſerved in ſuch a ſtate as to create the ſame conſumption of the produce of the earth as they have been uſed to, and to live in the ſame degree of comfort, it is impoſſible that the ſame emoluments will continue to ariſe from property in land, or money.

Let us ſeriouſly obſerve by what *rules* of conduct we are grown a great people, diſtinguiſhing wherein the *comforts* of the *poor*, as well as the *ſplendor* of the *rich* were concerned, and adhere to ſuch rules, marking the boundaries which experience now opens to view.

Upon the whole, there is reaſon to hope, as our conſtitution is framed on ſo rational and virtuous a plan, the ſenſe and virtue of the nation will be an overmatch for the folly and vice of it. A ſtruggle we muſt expect, and perhaps it may laſt for ſome time; but ſtill let us hope the wiſe and prudent ſide will predominate.

The vileſt inſtruments are ſometimes made uſe of by providence for the wiſeſt and beſt ends. Thoſe who are virtuouſly inclined, will not do any harm; their *principles* reſtrain them; yet to guard the well-meaning againſt the prevalency of pernicious examples, is not leſs the buſineſs of the ſtateſman than the prieſt. The arms of heaven and earth are to be held up as *terrors*

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to thoſe who are repugnant to good deſigns, as well as thoſe who are tempted to diſturb the peace of civil ſociety. The object we ſtand in moſt need of is *temperance.* An unwarrantable deſire of gain, or power, or the habit of gratifying an opinion, will create a lawleſs ſpirit of oppoſition; and one national evil, of a leſs magnitude, will entail another of a greater. Nor is the true cauſe always underſtood: when we come to examine the matter radically, we ſhall find a greater *wantonneſs* in our humor, than an urgent call from our *diſtreſs.* I would not be underſtood, that this *humor* is in no ſenſe to be gratified, much leſs that there is *no diſtreſs*; but one may obſerve a ſimiliarity of manners run through a nation; and the peaſant and the noble being equally free, if the rich are prodigal in their enjoyments, the poor will be unreaſonable and capricious in their deſires.

Where temporary expedients are calculated for immediate relief, they ſeem reaſonable, becauſe neceſſary; but they carry this danger along with them, that they cannot become *general,* and may hereafter be called for as a *right.* The hoary-headed *Plebeian* can tell the real wants of his fellow inhabitants of his village, with as much truth, if not the ſame elocution, as a *Tully* pleading before a Roman ſenate. And magiſtrates, and gentlemen of property are to be found in every corner of theſe kingdoms, to *hear,* and either by their own power, or their interpoſition with others, to *redreſs.* Thus peace and good order may be ſupported: but if virtue loſes her empire in the hearts of indivi-

duals, whoſe education ſets them above the common level, what is to be expected of others? Thoſe who are called into action, only from the fear of having their houſes pulled down, may eaſily ſuffer many virtuous fellow-ſubjects to languiſh in want.

We have uncultivated lands ſufficient for a hundred times as many ſubjects as there are complainants. Upon this iſland only, I preſume, we might give bread to 4 or 5 millions of people more than there are. But if we confine our views to private pecuniary profits in regard to the *arts of peace*, it will operate the ſame as ſtarving a *war* for private emolument, when an enemy is at our gates.

It is happy when *laws* and *regulations* for public uſe coincide with the *private* advantage of thoſe on whom the chief execution depends; and it is the wiſdom of a ſtateſman to accompliſh this when it is practicable; otherwiſe there muſt be *reſtraints*: we *muſt* revert to the firſt law, and the true end of government, namely, the preſervation of the *whole*. If we ring a thouſand changes, it will ſtill revert to this, that a free people can no more *flouriſh* without virtue, than the earth can bring forth her encreaſe without the dews of heaven!

I am yours, &c.

P. S. In my Letter XXIX. (*a*) I told you ſome of my apprehenſions about *gold*. And what think you of its keeping up to 79 s. 4 d. for a conſiderable time paſt, when

(*a*) Page 171.

when it uſed to be at 77 s. to 77 s. 4 d per oz. in time of peace, hardly varying above 2 pence. This difference of near 2 per cent. which is a great deal on this commodity, may depend partly on the courſe of exchange; yet I think it is a ſuſpicious ſign, that we expend much more gold than we uſed to do, or import much leſs; or that the boaſted balance of our trade, the grand criterion by which to judge of our commercial proſperity, or national opulency, is *wearing* down, or turning againſt us. It is at leaſt a circumſtance highly deſerving attention: for if this commodity continues a much longer time at ſo high a rate, it may prove a ſurer index of our political ſtate as to a *balance*, than all the reaſonings of the acuteſt merchant, or moſt penetrating politician.

We ſeem to lean ſo much on the *conſuming* ſide, that unleſs we gain *more*, or ſpend *leſs*, we ſhall grow *poor*: and if we argue till we loſe our ſpeech, if we acquire *leſs* than formerly, we ſhall be leſs rich; and if at the ſame time we conſume *more*, than in times when we were growing rich, we ſhall be *leſs rich*, till at length we change the phraſe, and ſay we are growing poorer.

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Mutual Agreement, Contentment, and the Exerciſe of common Senſe, the Means of re-eſtabliſhing this Nation.

LETTER XXXIX.

WAR is juſtly ſaid to be an option of difficulties, and it is often neceſſary to our exiſtence to ſtrike great blows, coſt what they may in *men* or *money*. The mode of paying off any conſiderable portion of our debt is alſo an option of difficulties, but the thing itſelf is eſſential to our exiſtence, on principles of freedom and juſtice, without which we may not exiſt at all. In the *firſt* caſe, we borrow with profuſion to guard our fields, religion, laws, liberty, wives and children, and bring our enemies to reaſonable ſubmiſſions: In the *laſt*, we are in danger of falling under the ponderous weight of debt. If this again deſtroys our ability to prepare for the *perils of war*, and prevents our *living* with comfort *in peace*, we are moſt evidently reduced to a ſtate of diſtreſs.

If there is any foundation in truth for the computation of 3,500,000 people living on about 6 l. 12 s. 6 d. a head, and the weight of the labor, by which we all exiſt, falls chiefly upon them; and if the labor is the only ſource of wealth, what a grievous defalcation is 4 millions 5 hundred thouſand pounds, payable annually in *intereſt!* If our body politic has received any violent wounds, or concuſſions, during the tumult of battle, ſhall we, as a wiſe, or commercial nation, refuſe to have our

wounds probed, and run the hazard of an inward decay, and conſumption? Shall a brave intelligent people perform the greateſt atchievements in war, with a view to the conqueſt of a favorite object; or to prevent their chief defence from being overmatched; or for any other cauſe; and when their work is accompliſhed to the utmoſt which the nature of the thing would admit, ſhall they forget all ſenſe of moral or political duty, and remain involved in difficulties, when the remedy is in their own hands, without the ſlaughter of themſelves or their enemies? To ſee our fellow ſubjects ſpill their blood ſo liberally, as it were in the vanity of the heart, for the glory and honor of military atchievments; and then to behold them with a more than effeminate timidity, and ſeemingly without any ſenſe of honor, ſtartle at every propoſition to do themſelves common juſtice!——

If the evils that threaten us are great, they are not unavoidable. Conſtancy, reſolution, and permanency of adminiſtration, will probably reſtore things; but this cannot be done, by ſuffering the weight of taxes to fall on thoſe who conſume 7 oz. of meat in a day, (*a*) much leſs on thoſe who have ſcarce ſo many ounces in a week to eat. It is thoſe who conſume 20 oz. in a day who *can* make a reduction. If we leave the ſon to go on in the ſame tract as the father, in full poſſeſſion of a nominal property, rendered precarious as it were for the ſake of the *name*, when it would be ſubſtantiated, if he would let it paſs for leſs. Thus it would really be worth more: the work would be accompliſhed, and things reduced to a regular courſe of domeſtic diſcipline

(*a*) See page 192.

and œconomy; and the ſeveral duties of the *great*, as well as *little vulgar*, be clearly aſcertained. At preſent we are playing at croſs-purpoſes, and no one can well underſtand what another means. There is but one common intereſt, and yet every perſon ſeems to have deſigns peculiar to himſelf.

Amidſt the clamors of political diſputation, we have ſeen ſeveral inſtances of great virtue among men in high office; and if bad meaſures or evil deſigns are purſued, we may be ſure contenders for power will not ſpare them. In the mean time the excellency of our conſtitution appears by the power veſted in the crown: this prevents us from running into inextricable confuſion. And though princes have human infirmities, a true *Britiſh* king, and a *virtuous man*, will ſtand or fall with his people.

We are apt enough to boaſt of our humanity, but we ſometimes want ſenſe or virtue to ſupport the character. Illiberality of ſentiment in regard to *ſuperiors*, is of the nature of cruelty to *inferiors*. To diſtinguiſh when men are perverſe, or dangerous, and ought to be oppoſed, muſt depend on their characters, as well as the nature of *meaſures*: opinions in dubious caſes, or where there are evident marks of partiality, prove nothing as to *truth*. So when we talk in a deſponding ſtile, we may diſplay our cowardice, ignorance, or diſcontent; but *hope* and *contentment* are the moſt admirable ingredients, not only towards the cure of the diſeaſes of a man's own mind, but, by a kind of ſympathetic power, to calm the diſorders of others, whom he aſſociates with; and conſequently

to

to put them in ſo much the better capacity, not only to *judge* of evils, but to *correct* and *amend* them. And granting many things to be in a bad ſtate, if we ſearch deep, we ſhall find more than the half of what we complain of, ariſes from want of ſenſe, or want of virtue.

Good humor, moderate ſenſe, a gentle behavior, and inflexible perſeverance in what we think right, have wonderful properties to conciliate men's minds, and *ſubdue* all *difficulties:* they operate by a kind of magic; for benevolence has as many charms to ſoften men into obedience to *reaſon*, as a malignant temper to blow up the flames of *rage* and *reſentment*. The difference is apparent; one is an inſtrument in the hands of God for the preſervation of his creatures who act rationally, the other for their deſtruction when they forſake their reaſon.

If we conſider men as they are, with all their paſſions and frailties, we muſt often *laugh*, but we ſhall oftener *mourn*.—When we behold the appetite in one man provoked, by ſeeing the object of his deſire in the poſſeſſion of another; and envy riſing in his breaſt from this cauſe, ſo that the conſideration of the good of the whole is abſorbed in a vicious ſelf-love; ſo far as this extends, we live on the verge of deſtruction. We may ſeek for artificial remedies, but we muſt ultimately refer to that degree of virtue or vice, wiſdom or folly, which make up the ſum and ſubſtance of the harmony or diſcord, which conſtitute the happineſs or miſery of a ſtate.

Every people have their peculiar genius, and the love of *liberty* always creates a degree of *generoſity*; and conſequently *our* genius, as a free people, may by a ſkilful manage-

management be directed to the proper object of our happineſs. The moſt ignorant, when they are cool and in temper, are eaſily convinced that peace and good order are the trueſt friends to liberty; ſince whoever gives the law by *force* or *conſtraint*, thoſe who muſt *receive* it, have in fact *loſt their liberty*; for whatever ſide preponderates, the general effect may be nearly equal.

A ſoldier of ſentiment, in this country, muſt be ſtartled when he ſees his fellow-ſubjects mad enough to make *his* ſervices unavoidably neceſſary to the peace of the community: yet we are more indebted to the ſoldier than we know well how to acknowledge. We are alſo indebted to our military genius; but ſo far as this creates ferocity, and the inclinations of the common people are miſguided, if the power of the civil magiſtrate becomes an object of deriſion, we may be *undone*.

Contentment under unavoidable diſtreſs depends alſo on the eloquence of thoſe who are commiſſioned from heaven, to proclaim the *law* of God. If theſe uſe this ſacred inſtrument in a worthy manner, and for worthy ends, they generally ſucceed. On the contrary, hiſtory informs us what the conſequences generally have been of making religion ſubſervient to worldly views.

The doctrine of the neceſſity of virtue in individuals to ſupport a ſtate, never appears ſtronger, than in circumſtances where the aid of religion becomes indiſpenſibly neceſſary. This is ſo familiar to the common ſenſe of mankind, that to contradict it, is to contradict all hiſtorical facts in all ages, and in all countries, from our *firſt progenitor*, in regard to *his* diſtreſs, down to this day.

Our

Our martial temper joined to our humanity, mark out the generous pride which liberty creates, and *commons* and *nobles* are alike pleaſed with praiſe. But as a horſe of the moſt generous blood, which has run in a rich unbounded paſture, muſt be diſciplined before he can be made to anſwer the ends of providence, we now require a ſkilful manager to tame and diſcipline us, in order to our exerting our proper ſtrength, and harmony of motion, without which all our acquiſitions will become of no value. It is true, we juſtly diſdain the thought of the *ſaddle* or the *bitt*; but if we throw away the *reins* too, we are undone!

Among all the inhabitants of the earth, we claim a pre-eminence. Whether this be a partial concluſion or not, ſtill we require a ſkilful rein. We have admirable laws, and courts to temper the rigor of them; and much is to be hoped for, from their power and influence. But what will laws or mercy avail, but as they are maintained by a ſenſe of the obligations we ſtand bound to on the ſtronger tyes of *conſcience!*

An inſpired penman (*a*) has given us the beſt leſſon, addreſſed to a wiſe and military nation; and it is neceſſary for *us* to attend to it at this juncture.

"Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers; for there is no *power* but of God: the powers that *be*, are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou

(*a*) St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii.

thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame: for he is the miniſter of God to thee for *good*. But if thou do that which is *evil*, be afraid; for he beareth not the ſword in vain: for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for *wrath*, but alſo for *conſcience* ſake. For, for this cauſe ye pay *tribute* alſo; for they are God's miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing. *Render therefore to all their dues*; tribute to whom tribute is due, *cuſtom* to whom cuſtom, *fear* to whom fear, *honor* to whom honor."

Love and mutual regard, are neceſſarily included in this advice, as eſſential to the love of God, on which hang all the law and the prophets. On this depends the great principle of that *freedom*, which in the general view is natural, political, and moral juſtice: and thoſe only are ſtrictly free who conſult their *conſcience*, and obey the dictates of it.

Whether it ariſe moſt from the irreligion that prevails amongſt us, our military genius, our inconſtancy in temper, or our liberty; but we are exceeding apt to forget one great article, in every view eſſential to our own ſupport, which is *obedience*. Obedience to the laws of God, and obedience to the laws of the land, are equally eſſential to the ſupport of our religious and civil liberty. From this forgetfulneſs and the paſſions which it generates, ariſe various kinds of diſſentions and irregularities, in almoſt every rank and fraternity. We do not pay ſufficient *reſpect to ourſelves*: whenever a community

munity is wounded, every member of it muſt feel the blow. The imperiouſneſs of one may be reſtrained by the moderation of another; and our body politic being conſtituted as it is, turbulent diſpoſitions are not uncontrollable.

Many things are amiſs in this country, as in moſt others, and were ſo before you and I came into the world; and will be the ſame after we leave it: but it is a part of our buſineſs, whilſt we remain here, to endevor by all proper methods to ſet things right, to the utmoſt extent of our ſphere as individuals; and by all means to avoid deſpairing of the commonwealth, for that is laying down our arms, before the victory is decided.

To ſay that we depend on the virtue of individuals, is in fact acknowledging that government cannot be ſupported by its own inherent ſtrength, nor by the rod of the magiſtrate alone. Every man may apply this to his own heart, and try himſelf at the tribunal of his own mind.

It is not long ere you and I ſhall *part with* theſe cottages of clay, or be *ejected*; but whilſt we live, let us not live in vain: let us not be afraid or aſhamed to own, what it is infamous to diſavow. Though we often ſee a groſs departure from national virtue, and *bevies* of unmanly pleaſures take poſſeſſion of our hearts, unworthy the maſculine triumphs of *Chriſtian* or even *Roman* virtue; yet there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, thouſands amongſt us are ready to die, not as heathen philoſophers, and friends to their country only, but as *Chriſtians* alſo, full of the hopes of a *ſubſtantial* immortality: and among the vulgar, tens of thouſands ready to ſhed their

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blood in the cauſe of *liberty*, tho' they ſhould hardly know what true liberty means.

We ſhall not go *right*, till we are rightly directed. We muſt learn the true meaſure of our wealth, and how to employ it moſt advantageouſly. This is a work for *divines* as well as *ſtateſmen:* but unhappily in avoiding the errors of enthuſiaſm, or the *labor* of being virtuous, many of us have refined away a ſolid part of our religion, namely the *love of our country*, which ever has been attended with a certain degree of pious warmth; and which muſt be kept up, or the ſimple *idea* of it will not ſhow itſelf in *action*.

This is confeſſed, but not that the *whole* land is deluged over with *indifference*, whether we exiſt or not. The ſacred fire remains yet unextinguiſhed in many an honeſt heart, and its properties exiſt in many an underſtanding head. The beſt are ſubject to deceive themſelves: they are too ſubject to miſconſtrue the actions of others, and make too little allowance for human frailty; but ſtill we can judge of *virtuous* or *vicious* actions by *compariſon*. Many of us have lived among other nations much worſe than ourſelves; and in general the greater the ſtate of ſlavery, the more abandoned the morals of a nation. Iniquity not only brings on the moſt miſchievous effects, but confirms them.

Yet how can the warmeſt advocates for the cauſe of virtue obtain their end by laviſh reproaches? *Men*, like *women*, may be flattered into a love of virtue; but to prove a man, who has any reputation, to be a *villain*, or a woman who paſſes for chaſte, a *proſtitute*,

will ſometimes make them ſuch.—He who ſuppoſes there is *no virtue*, not only will not take any pains to call it forth, but condemns *himſelf*, and is conſequently an incompetent witneſs. And to deride thoſe who give any tokens of having their country's welfare at heart, is in effect to applaud ſuch as acknowledge themſelves indifferent as to what may befall it.

Let us encourage each other, in hopes the natural propenſity in human nature to be pleaſed with applauſe, will operate in a happy manner; and whilſt men of ſentiment countenance each other, the lower claſſes of the people, who are of the ſame common nature, will imitate virtue as well as vice.

We are all members of a happy *conſtitution*, preſerved as it were by a ſucceſſion of miracles; and the deſcendants of anceſtors who have ſhed rivers of blood to preſerve that conſtitution pure and untainted! The hour is always at hand, in which this world can poſſibly have no intereſt in a man's heart, and even crowns and ſceptres are of no value. It is more than probable ſome are *ſincere* in their wiſhes, not for their *children* only, but alſo for their *country*. If you or I ſhould ſtand by the death-bed of a friend, who in his laſt moments ſhould ſend up his prayers that heaven will be pleaſed to avert the evils which threaten his country, if we ſhould be too cold to ſhed a *tear* at his diſſolution, let us at leaſt be *ſerious*, and endevor to be as piouſly ſincere.

I am yours, &c.

Abuſes in Bread one of the injurious Practices of our Times, and the Importance of removing the Evil.

LETTER XL.

WHEN I conſider the manner of living of thoſe nations among whom I have paſt a conſiderable part of my life, I find myſelf conſtrained to acknowledge the bounties of Providence in being born a Britiſh ſubject, an Engliſhman, and an inhabitant of ſo fertile a land. At the ſame time when I hear people in all quarters and of all conditions complain, I am inclined to think that we are not the moſt happy people on the earth. For whether the unhappineſs ariſes from external cauſes, or ignorance, or vice, he who eſteems himſelf miſerable, is ſo; and *complaint* is *miſery*.

Portugal does not grow above half wheat enough for the conſumption of her own people in a plentiful year, and on a medium not for above five months; yet a *Portugueze* is ſupplied with bread, and his garlick and onions and fruits, his various preparations of rice which he eats at about *two-pence* a pound from *Carolina*, and his dried fiſh at *three-halfpence* from *Newfoundland*, content him. If in the family of a *Fidalgo* or nobleman, there are *ten* pounds of meat provided for *forty* perſons, it is the moſt they uſually conſume on fleſh-days, though it amounts to but 4 oz. each; the reſt they make up with bread, rice, and vegetables, and the water they boil them in.

If a *Frenchman* has bread and vegetables, and ſoops made even without fleſh, he does not murmur.

A *Ruſſian* having a large flat loaf of black *rye bread*, though kept for weeks and months, being dipped in water, he eats it with ſalt, and never complains. — If he finds fiſh, with which the great rivers of Ruſſia abound, he makes a ſoop, eats it with delight, and is thankful.

I have ſeen great miſery in *Perſia*, but not from the want of bread. Whilſt they have rice, provided it be reliſhed with burnt butter, a *Perſian* is contented.

Our bleſſed land is not the only one where the people make ſcourges for themſelves; but I have not yet heard of any, where the moſt important article of the aliment of the people is adulterated to a degree that renders it equally innutricious, unpleaſant, and unhealthy.

Bread and *water* are the nouriſhment of priſoners and ſlaves, as being moſt eaſily provided; but becauſe they are ſo, and becauſe in their own nature they are ſo neceſſary, we muſt eſteem them the choiceſt gifts of Heaven,—when they are in a pure ſtate.

I remember a famous diſpute with regard to children's eating *bread* or *pudding*, alledging this to be a *country of corn*. The puddiniſts and anti-puddiniſts both taking the part of Ceres, were copious in their reaſonings, but victory decided for *bread*.

I have alſo heard a learned phyſician maintain, that half the children who die in England, have a lump of indigeſted flour-pudding in their bodies; this is ſo much *unfermented* bread. Another ſays, that bread breeds the gout, animal ſubſtances the ſcurvy, and vegetables generate cholics. — All which I believe to be true; but men have the ſeeds of mortality in them, and muſt

muſt die. The moſt grateful aliment to nature I conceive to be one third part of each of theſe, of one kind only at a time, well cooked, without any fermented liquors to drink.

In the mean time, if life is full ſhort, the extravagancy of the times renders it ſhorter. What can be ſaid in our excuſe, when one man abuſes the truſt another repoſes in him, inſomuch that his conduct bears a a ſimilitude with the beautiful figure uſed by the Son of God, in regard to the duties of affection and mutual regard? When one aſks for a *fiſh*, ſhall we give him a *ſerpent?* But the cuſtom of adulterating bread, like that of ſuffering children to die, has no malevolency in it. Bakers, like pariſh nurſes, are only in a *habit* of doing miſchief: for bread being made aſtringent by *alum*, I am told, is often the cauſe of the death of infants, whoſe bodies are not prepared for a diet of the leaſt coſtive nature.

Bakers, above all the reſt of mankind, ought to be fair and honeſt in their dealings; for it is hardly poſſible to detect them in ſome kinds of fraud. The profeſſion is of great antiquity, and to this day the modes of grinding, bolting, preparing dough, and baking, are diverſified in the different parts of the earth, ſo much that it would make a curious and uſeful work to give an account of it. The *Cappadocians*, *Lydians*, and *Phœnicians*, are ſaid to have been moſt diſtinguiſhed for their public bakers. The trade was introduced into Italy about the year of Rome 583. The bakers were, as our law ſtill ſuppoſes them, the *millers* or *grinders* of wheat, as well as the makers of bread; and it is probable from the

Latin

Latin word *piſtor*, that they *pounded* the grain in a mortar. At leaſt I am aſſured ſomething of the ſame kind is practiſed by a ſtick and a mortar in many parts of *Turkey* to this day.

Bakers were held in great eſteem among the *Romans*, for out of their body or *college*, a ſenator was occaſionally elected; and to preſerve them in a juſt ſenſe of honor and honeſty, they were prohibited alliance with *comedians* and *gladiatars*. And, not to be taken off from an employment, on the due execution of which the lives of the citizens depended, they were excuſed from guardianſhips, and other offices. Each baker had his ſhop, and they were diſtributed into *fourteen* regions of the city.

By our ſtatute, 22 Hen. 8. c. 13. bakers are declared to be *no handicrafts*, as if it were meant to recommend their employment as ſuperior to workers in mechanic arts, nothing being ſo uſeful to mankind as *bread*; and this may be the reaſon why magiſtrates are ſo tender towards them as to weight, in which an honeſt man may happen to err; but the premeditated abuſe in the quality ſhould be reſented as a high offence.

The conſumption of bread in all countries and in all periods has been conſiderable enough to conſtitute, in ſpecific gravity, as much aliment as a man need take to ſupport life. The difference however is obvious between a perſon who labors hard, and one who ſits ſtill: he who conſumes animal ſubſtances and various kinds of fruits and vegetables, and him who has little beſides bread to eat. The latter uſe garlick, onions, ſalt, oil, butter, cheeſe, *&c.* to ſerve as ſauce to their bread.

Maitland ſays, the bakers of London eſtimated the

conſump-

muſt die. The moſt grateful aliment to nature I conceive to be one third part of each of theſe, of one kind only at a time, well cooked, without any fermented liquors to drink.

In the mean time, if life is full ſhort, the extravagancy of the times renders it ſhorter. What can be ſaid in our excuſe, when one man abuſes the truſt another repoſes in him, inſomuch that his conduct bears a a ſimilitude with the beautiful figure uſed by the Son of God, in regard to the duties of affection and mutual regard? When one aſks for a *fiſh*, ſhall we give him a *ſerpent?* But the cuſtom of adulterating bread, like that of ſuffering children to die, has no malevolency in it. Bakers, like pariſh nurſes, are only in a *habit* of doing miſchief: for bread being made aſtringent by *alum*, I am told, is often the cauſe of the death of infants, whoſe bodies are not prepared for a diet of the leaſt coſtive nature.

Bakers, above all the reſt of mankind, ought to be fair and honeſt in their dealings; for it is hardly poſſible to detect them in ſome kinds of fraud. The profeſſion is of great antiquity, and to this day the modes of grinding, bolting, preparing dough, and baking, are diverſified in the different parts of the earth, ſo much that it would make a curious and uſeful work to give an account of it. The *Cappadocians*, *Lydians*, and *Phœnicians*, are ſaid to have been moſt diſtinguiſhed for their public bakers. The trade was introduced into Italy about the year of Rome 583. The bakers were, as our law ſtill ſuppoſes them, the *millers* or *grinders* of wheat, as well as the makers of bread; and it is probable from the

Latin

Latin word *piſtor*, that they *pounded* the grain in a mortar. At leaſt I am aſſured ſomething of the ſame kind is practiſed by a ſtick and a mortar in many parts of *Turkey* to this day.

Bakers were held in great eſteem among the *Romans*, for out of their body or *college*, a ſenator was occaſionally elected; and to preſerve them in a juſt ſenſe of honor and honeſty, they were prohibited alliance with *comedians* and *gladiatars*. And, not to be taken off from an employment, on the due execution of which the lives of the citizens depended, they were excuſed from guardianſhips, and other offices. Each baker had his ſhop, and they were diſtributed into *fourteen* regions of the city.

By our ſtatute, 22 Hen. 8. c. 13. bakers are declared to be *no handicrafts*, as if it were meant to recommend their employment as ſuperior to workers in mechanic arts, nothing being ſo uſeful to mankind as *bread*; and this may be the reaſon why magiſtrates are ſo tender towards them as to weight, in which an honeſt man may happen to err; but the premeditated abuſe in the quality ſhould be reſented as a high offence.

The conſumption of bread in all countries and in all periods has been conſiderable enough to conſtitute, in ſpecific gravity, as much aliment as a man need take to ſupport life. The difference however is obvious between a perſon who labors hard, and one who ſits ſtill: he who conſumes animal ſubſtances and various kinds of fruits and vegetables, and him who has little beſides bread to eat. The latter uſe garlick, onions, ſalt, oil, butter, cheeſe, *&c.* to ſerve as ſauce to their bread.

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conſumption of flour in theſe cities in bread, puddings, and pies, at *ten ounces* each perſon.

Ten ounces of flour make bread (*a*) near — oz. 12½.

Fame now makes it to be, in the cities of London, where moſt animal ſubſtance is conſumed, per day in bread — — — — oz. 12

In general in theſe cities, now meat is ſo dear, we may call it — — — — oz. 13

Then 700,000 inhabitants will conſume in a year, or 365 days, bread — — lb. 207,593,750

The moſt accurate computation of the quantity of wheat expended in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, conſonant to this proportion, is — qrs. 600,000

And the bakers are underſtood to make, and pretend they do make their wheaten or white bread, of the houſehold or fineſt flour only, which they reckon 224 lb. (which I ſhall explain hereafter) in a quarter of wheat of 59 lb. per buſhel, and on 58 lb. 220 lb.

At this laſt rate, 600,000 quarters of wheat made into flour is — — — lb. 132,000,000

made into ſuch bread is — — lb. 163,821,428

conſequently there is a deficiency of no leſs bread than — — — lb. 43,772,322

Whence it follows, that our conſumption is vaſtly greater than 600,000 quarters of wheat, which I *do not* believe; that the people are not, by one fourth part, ſo many as 700,000, which I *do not* believe; or that the bread is made of *ſeconds* and *middlings*, &c. as well as the fine flour, which *I do* believe This parti-

(*a*) According to the regulation of the aſſize, 14 lb. of flour is to go into a peck loaf of 17 lb. 6 oz.

cular, created by an error in digeſting the laſt act relative to bread; a paſſion for gain, which ſo univerſally predominates; and our great ingenuity in finding ways and means to prey on each other.

In regard to the conſumption of bread, thoſe who eat it new, eat the moſt, it being moſt *agreeable*; but this proves only the impropriety of uſing it the firſt day, ſince no one ever eſteemed it the moſt ſalubrious.

The great misfortune of theſe cities, if not of others in theſe kingdoms, is, that the *bakers* contrive to make their bread ſo, that it muſt be eaten the *firſt day*, or it grows dry and diſagreeable. This cuts againſt health and cheapneſs, with regard to the conſumption; and calls the louder for a law to regulate bakers, as to the quality. It can never anſwer any good end, to render any kind of eatable *bad*, becauſe leſs of it ſhould be conſumed; nor ſhould it be *good*, merely becauſe people ſhould eat the more of it. Temperance or exceſs depends on habit, as well as on penury and affluence.

In eſtimating the weight of wheat, we find it as low as 50 lb. a buſhel, and as high as 64; the firſt is hardly fit for bread; the laſt, I conceive, not to be common in the beſt years. It muſt depend on the quality of the grain ſown, as well as the ſeaſon and the ſoil.

If we ſuppoſe wheat of 53 lb. the buſhel to be eatable, and 63 the higheſt weight, the medium is 58 lb. per buſhel. Of this the *poor* man or the *rich* one, may have 497 lb. of good houſhold bread for each quarter, or $62\frac{1}{8}$ per buſhel: viz. the quarter will produce,

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Broad bran and *ſhort bran*, the laſt ſometimes called *coarſe pollards* — — — lb. 81
Flour (the waſte deducted) — — — 379
460

N°. 1. Genuine houſhold bread, well baked, when cold to weigh — — — lb. 497

According to the diviſions which the bakers make (*a*), and computed at 59 lb. to a buſhel (or 8 lb. per quarter more than the abovementioned) the ſame being ſold in ſacks of meal of 280 lb. each, when wheat is at 48 *s.* per quarter, the account ſtands thus:

	Price per ſingle buſhel.	Meaſure ſingle buſhel.	lb. per quarter.	lb. per buſh. near.
Fine Pollard	2 *s.* 3 *d.*	- - $\frac{3}{5}$		
Coarſer ditto	1 6	- 1 -		
Horſe ditto	1 3	- 2 -	118	15
Bran per quarter of 16 buſhel	9 -	- 2 $\frac{2}{3}$		
	Price per ſack of 280 lb.			
Houſholds (*b*)	42 *s.* -	—	224	28
Seconds	40 -	—	45	$5\frac{5}{8}$
Fine middlings	33 -	—	56	7
Coarſe middlings	28 -	—	27	$3\frac{3}{8}$
			470	59

Deducting

(*a*) See a candid and ingenious letter in the Gazetteer, ſigned Z, and dated 22 Jan. 1767. hereafter mentioned

(*b*) The term *houſholds* is applied to flour, of which the fineſt bread is made; and the term *houſhold bread* for bread of a lower quality. This is an abſurdity which ſeems calculated to perplex.

Deducting 1 lb. in each buſhel, it brings it, as above-mentioned, within a fraction per buſhel, to the 460 lb. but the kinds and quantity of bread which ought to be made, is the ſubject of enquiry. Conſidering the various kinds of uſes of wheat, for paſtry, biſcuit, *gingerbread*, and animal food, we may eaſily reconcile the diſtinctions of the 118 lb, and 56, and alſo of the 27; and it is to be preſumed, that of the *houſholds*, a ſmall quantity is taken out for paſtry, which in ſome ſmall degree may reduce the bread. But if the three firſt kinds only are applied to the making bread, it amounts per quarter to — — — lb. 325

The coarſe middlings being 27 lb, are often devoted to the making ginger-bread, wherein the *treacle* conceals the color, and the ginger and ſugar give a quickneſs; and it is probably better for this purpoſe, mixed with the fine pollards ground twice, than with the fineſt flour: but one would ſcarce imagine this to be an expence of any conſideration compared with bread.

Whilſt we are running from one extreme, we ſhould take care of the oppoſite. Bran, as bran, in any degree, is more taſteleſs than flour; yet by leaving *meal* without any kind or proportion of it, the bread ſo made is generally deemed leſs digeſtible and ſalutary, and to moſt people, leſs pleaſant to the taſte.

As to the quality, ariſing from the manufactory of bread in great cities, if juſtice was done in the *cookery*, and the materials genuine, there is no reaſon to complain of any particular defect in the art; but the ſcience is proſtituted to lucre. As to the *French* bread,

which is moſt eſteemed, it is leſs nouriſhing, and out of the preſent queſtion.

In eſtimating the general conſumption, in countries where bread is, or has been in moſt uſe, ſome ingenious perſons find it to ſtand nearly thus:

In England.	Wheat per ann.	Houſhold bread per annum.	Houſhold bread per diem.
	qrs. buſh.	lb.	lb. oz.
Workhouſes and Hoſpitals	- - $7\frac{1}{2}$	472	1 - 5
Farmers and Ploughmen	1 - $1\frac{1}{4}$	584	1 - 9
Pitmen - - - -	2 - 4	1262	3 - 7
In France.			
Domeſtics - - - -	1 - $4\frac{3}{4}$	804	2 - 3
Thoſe who eat new bread	2 - 1	1073	2 - 15
Porters and Peaſants - -	2 - 2	1136	3 - 1
Italians - - - - -	- - $7\frac{1}{4}$	457	1 - 4
Ancient Romans - - -	1 - 2	631	1 - 11
Athenians - - - -	2 - $3\frac{1}{2}$	1230	3 - 6

The above computation in the ſecond and third column, is made on *houſhold* bread, and ſuppoſing the buſhel of wheat to render flour *nearly* — lb. 48

Of bread nearly — — — — — — 62

If as Millers practiſe, for the uſe of theſe cities, they take away 118lb. of bran and pollard per quarter, then there will be of flour per buſhel, near lb. 43

And of bread but — — — — — — 58

Which makes on the buſhel a difference in bread of per cent. — — — — — — 8

Conſequently reduces the conſumption above-mentioned, on a medium, per diem near — oz. 3

enough *per diem*, to keep a man ſome time alive from ſtarving.

One

One would hardly imagine there could be ſo great a difference in the conſumption, unleſs the people of different countries were of different magnitudes; but we know that *bread* is the chief aliment of the poorer part of the French nation.

If we take the medium of the workhouſe, hoſpital, farmer, and pitmen in England, we find the conſumption to be per diem, near — — — 2lb. 2oz.

The charges on the 497lb. (page 266) being upon tryal found, viz.

Meterage, porterage, grinding, and dreſſing -	3s. 6d.
Salt, yeaſt, coals, wood, bakers wages, and laborers — — — — — —	5 6
Deducting 3s. for the bran ſold, remains for the charge of manufacturing 1 quarter (a)	6 -
So that the price, *without houſe rent, taxes, and maſter bakers profit*, is, per lb. — —	1d $\frac{30}{100}$
Conſequently the 2lb. 2oz. as above — —	2d. $\frac{76}{100}$
Every 4s. a quarter makes a difference for every 10lb. of bread of near 1d; and 20s. per quarter on 1lb. of bread is — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$d.
The people in general cannot well conſume per diem each, either in houſhold or any other bread, above — — — — — —	1lb. 2oz.
If 1 quarter produces 497lb. of bread, 6 millions of quarters will produce —	lb. 2982,000,000
which, on 7 millions of people, is per ann. each	lb. 426
and each per diem above — — —	1lb. 2oz.

In general, taking in the poor in the country, I believe we *uſually* make as much bread from a quarter of wheat as the experiment alludes to. In

(a) Important Conſiderations, page 43.

In regard to our general expence, if we conſume, as is accurately computed, — — qrs. 6,000,000
ſet at what we may *now* call the low price of 36*s.* it is — — — — — £. 10,800,000
and if we grow *one ſixteenth* more for exportation, or to ſupply a bad year, it is - qrs. 375,000
which at 36*s.* is — — — — — £. 675,000

We alſo make near an equal conſumption of barley and oats, viz.

Barley, 3 millions, at 20*s.* — — — 3,000,000
Oats, 3 dittos, at 16*s.* — — — — 2,400,000
Theſe amount in all to — — £. 16,875,000

But wheat at 48*s.* makes the whole amount of our own expence to be - £. 19,800,000
If 15*s.* only on 6 millions of quarters are computed for the coſt of the manufactory of bread, it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions more, in all - £. 24,300,000
Which is near 24 in 63, or three eights of our whole national expence. I believe indeed, it will be found that *bread*, *beer*, and *oats*, (the laſt being chiefly conſumed by horſes) are the grand ſupports of the people of this country; and are conſequently a very great object of our political œconomy. It is obvious, that on wheat only, the difference upon 36*s.* and 50*s.* per quarter is no leſs a ſum than — — — — — £. 4,200,000
which is equal to the revenue of ſome great nations who ſupport large armies.

On the other hand it is not practicable to fix the price of grain; it is perhaps as impoſſible as to fix and determine what the ſeaſons ſhall be, or what the earth ſhall produce, and therefore it muſt fluctuate; but it ſeems

to be a general opinion, that a farmer may live very *comfortably* if wheat per quarter is at — 30 to 34*s.*
On the medium of 32*s.* per quarter it is per
buſhel — — — — — — — 4*s.*
Some indeed ſay he muſt have — — — 5*s.*
If we take 36*s.* or — — — — — 4*s.* 6*d.*
let us ſuppoſe that we ſhall be friends enough to ourſelves to endevor to bring it down as ſpeedily as poſſible to 4*s.* 6*d.* I am not a very old man, but I remember to have ſold good *Engliſh wheat* at *Liſbon* which did not coſt above 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*

A radical inveſtigation of this ſubject requires application, as well as abilities, and it is now under legiſlative cognizance. In the mean while, without comprehending *all* the *myſteries* of baking, it is obvious why bread is dearer and leſs pure than it might be.

The deſire of riches, or the pleaſures they furniſh, ſeem to have turned the brains of every claſs of mankind in this country. If it is true, that ſome gentlemen of landed eſtates, in ſome counties, have raiſed the price of arrable land to near double what it was; and if bread is generally deareſt where land is deareſt, it is no wonder, eſpecially where the taxes fall the heavieſt, that the bread ſhould bear a high price. If the landlord raiſes the price of his land, ſo that bread becomes 10 or 15 per cent. dearer, tho' in following the chain of conſequences, he may think himſelf entitled to levy ſo much, he will not conſent that the cornfactor, miller, meal-man, or baker, ſhould add 7 or 8*s.* per quarter on the wheat, or the bread, beyond what the

law

law of aſſize ſpecifies; but if he adds ſo much, it is per cent. — — — — — — — — 19

If the gentleman loads it, per cent. — — — 15

If a great export, adds per cent. more — — — 10

the poor man will eat his morſel dearer than he might by per cent. — — — — 44

to ſay nothing of inclement ſkies, which may help to make bread, as it now is, *more* than twice as dear as it was 25 or 30 years paſt.

Beſides due allowances for labor and ſupport, if adventitious profits are made, and ſtill further if an article ſo eſſential to life is *adulterated*, a man has hardly a fair chance for his life: and though it is not literally poiſoning or cutting throats, it is exerciſing, in a land of the trueſt liberty, a kind of power which the moſt tyrannical nations do not practiſe, tending to ſhorten life, and make the *potion* of it, particularly to thoſe whoſe enjoyments are very ſhort and mixed, go down *bitterly*. This calls aloud for a remedy, even on the common firſt principle of *ſelf-preſervation*.

Bakers are ſuppoſed to underſtand the materials which they work up; and they have an advantage, or they would clamor againſt the millers or mealmen, with whom it is preſumed the *greater* profit centers; but they do not know the exact proportions of the flour.

The moſt accurate and ingenious performance explanatory of the defects and abuſes of the act of parliament, I find in the pamphlet already mentioned, intitled, *Important Conſiderations upon the Act of the 31ſt of* Geo. II. *relative to the Aſſize on Bread.* This

ſeems

ſeems to point out the remedy. It ſhews that the bakers are in fault for not explaining their ſituation in regard to millers; and that we have unjuſtly traduced the common people for not eating *houſhold bread*, when there could be none ſuch made genuine of its kind, under the ſaid act, to give a *living gain* to the baker; as four loaves of *houſhold bread*, ſuppoſed to be nearly ſuch as the 505 lb. to the quarter, are required, for three of the ſame weight of wheaten. This appears, by the *Important Conſiderations* already quoted, and from the moſt obvious diſtinctions of the produce of a quarter of wheat in flour, hardly to be poſſible, as you may ſuppoſe will be made evident to parliament, before whom the object lies.

Have you read Z's letter? It recommends *two kinds of bread*, tho' under new regulations. I hope there will be but *one kind eſtabliſhed by law*. He ſays,

" What an abſurdity! to pretend to ſettle the price of that ſort of bread, of which the compoſition is not known. Many millers have gained great fortunes thereby in a few years, and the bakers get at leaſt *eight ſhillings* per quarter in baking wheaten bread, in preference to this unknown compoſition, of which *houſhold bread* was (or rather was not) intended to be made.

If this had not been the caſe, the millers and bakers would have examined into the affair, and properly repreſented and propoſed a method, ſo to have ſettled the value and compoſition of *one ſort* of bread, in compariſon with the *other*, that it ſhould have been, at leaſt, as much the intereſt of the baker to make *houſhold* bread

as it is to make *wheaten* bread; and till this is done, bakers will, no doubt, continue to bake *wheaten* bread only; but if ſome few of them ſhould make *brown* bread, which they call *houſhold* bread, they will take care it ſhall be ſuch, as will drive the poor into eating the former only."

The ingenious letter writer proceeds: "It ſhould be conſidered what the miller ſhould be allowed for grinding the wheat, dreſſing the flour, and bringing it to market, in addition to what he gets by the bran and pollard; and *that* allowance, added to the medium price of wheat, ſhould be the medium price of flours to be uſed for the two ſorts of bread; to which the *bakers* allowance ſhould be alſo added; and the *aſſize* of bread ſettled from that. But as the price of flour at market is not governed by the medium price of wheat, but by the quantity the millers and mealmen think proper to bring there, they make great advantages thereof.

The two ſorts of bread ſhould be made from the following ſorts of flour, viz.

The *wheaten* bread, from the beſt flour only, which is called *houſhold* flour:

And the houſhold bread (or rather the *ſecond* ſort of bread) ſhould be made from the whole produce of the wheat, the bran and pollard only taken out, which ſhould be ſo dreſſed, that the weight of the ſaid bran and pollard ſhould be upon every quarter — — lb. 90
and the flour produced from a quarter of wheat at the medium weight of 59 lb. to the buſhel — — 380
from which may be made of bread — — lb. 470

or

or 27 peck loaves of 17 lb. 6 oz. each, allowing 14 lb. of flour to make a peck loaf.

But the millers ſay a quarter of ſuch wheat will produce only

Of houſhold, or the beſt flour — —	lb. 224
Second ſort of ditto — — —	45
Fine middlings — — —	56
Coarſe middlings — — —	27
	352
Bran and pollard — — —	118
	470"

The *remedies* which this ingenious writer propoſes, are as follow:

" The two ſorts of flour to be uſed for bread ſhould be diſtinguiſhed on the ſacks, the weight thereof, and the millers or *owners name, marked thereon*, that in caſe it ſhould be found to be otherwiſe mixed than ſhould be directed, or ſhort of weight, it may be known who is to be anſwerable for the ſame.

The millers and mealmen, as well as *bakers*, ſhould be liable to be called upon *to make oath*, that the flour, which may hereafter be diſputed, ſhall be, in all reſpects, as directed; and that the *bread is made of no other mixture*.

To *aboliſh ſo many names of flour*, which were invented to confuſe; otherwiſe, who can gueſs the reaſon why the *fineſt* flour ſhould be called *houſhold*, of which the *wheaten* bread is made; and that the bread made of the whole produce of the wheat (except bran and pollard)

ſhould be called *houſhold bread?* They ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by calling the firſt, the *fineſt flour*,—the ſecond, *houſhold flour*; or by calling them the *firſt* and *ſecond* ſort of flour.

The other ſorts of flour, which biſcuit and gingerbread bakers uſe, ſhould be called *coarſe flour*.

A penalty of 100*l.* ſhould be inflicted on the perſon who ſhould dare to mix the flour in any other manner, or make bread of flour mixed with the flours of any different grain *for public ſale*; and *that* ſum ſhould be given to the informer, which would induce the journeymen to inform whenever their maſters ſhould be guilty of ſuch a fraudulent practice, and, in a great meaſure, may prevent it.

The price of bread made of the *beſt flour* only, ſhould be rated rather more than proportionably higher than the *ſecond* ſort before-mentioned, made of the whole produce of the wheat; ſo that thoſe who are ſo luxurious and ignorant as to prefer the former to the latter, ſhould *pay* for it.

The loaves to be made of theſe two ſorts of flour ſhould be peck, half-peck, quarter, and half-quarter, and the riſe or fall thereof in price ſhould never be more nor leſs than 2*d.* on a peck-loaf, and ſo in proportion, which would prevent fractions.

As nothing of this kind has been ſettled, it is manifeſt, that *millers* and *mealmen* gain much more by corn than the growers of it do; and bakers may buy ſome of what is called the *beſt flour*, which has been ſufficiently mixed before it comes to their hands; and to this

mixture

mixture *they* may remix a proportion of the ſecond ſort of flour, fine or courſe middlings, or the flour of any inferior grain that is cheaper; ſo that the conſumer, between them all, is certainly in a *conſuming* ſituation for want of ſome ſuch regulations.

The diſtreſſes of the poor are, no doubt, very great; and thoſe who can prevent any impoſitions that they at preſent labor under, and can deviſe any method to obviate and to remove ſuch in future, ſo that they may be enabled, from the known price of their labor and induſtry, to ſubſiſt and ſupport their families, will render their country and them more real ſervice, than by introducing too often, or when it may not be actually neceſſary, any *temporary* relief; for if that is not regulated with the utmoſt prudence, it may have a very bad tendency, it being an alarming circumſtance to ſee numbers of tradeſmen and labouring people, who leave their work and beg about the ſtreets, whereby the ſpirit of induſtry (ſo eſſential to the proſperity and happineſs of every ſtate) may be entirely aboliſhed.

Notwithſtanding the above obſervations, I would not wiſh to be thought (what I am not) an enemy to the ſuffering induſtrious poor tradeſman or labourer; on the contrary, in this ſevere ſeaſon, when every neceſſary, and every kind of food, has been made ſo very dear, from cauſes like thoſe before-mentioned, many thouſands of poor people in and about this metropolis are, no doubt, in great diſtreſs; and for ſuch, I ſhould be glad, at this time, to ſee a collection made from houſe to houſe by the churchwardens and overſeers of the poor

in each pariſh, to which I would heartily contribute, for their temporary relief; the money ſo collected ſhould be laid out in food and neceſſaries, and diſtributed, as near as poſſible, in proportion to the diſtreſſes and largeneſs of their reſpective families, viz.

To ſuch perſons only as are known to be induſtrious, who keep conſtantly at work, and do all they can to ſupport themſelves and children.

And to ſuch who, from ſickneſs, or who cannot at this time work at their trades, and are therefore almoſt ſtarving, who are known to be worthy of ſuch charity."

Thus far the ingenious writer, who has given his thoughts, on his principle, with great candor and judgment. Now, Sir, if we take the difference of the 380 (*a*) and 352 (*b*), it is — — — 28 lb.
The medium of 90 (*c*) and the 118 (*d*) is — 14
This will bring the 90 to 104 lb. of flour, to be taken out of the quarter. If we fix it at — lb. 100
then both Z and the millers will have (*e*) — lb. 370
of which to make bread. Let it be made accordingly into bread under the name of *houſhold bread*, and ſee if it will not be the very object we ſeek after, or lead to the diſcovery of it.

	lb.	oz.	dr.
The law for the *aſſize* ſays, the quartern *wheaten* loaf ſhall weigh (*f*) — —	4	5	8
The houſhold — — — —	4	5	8

The

(*a*) Page 274. (*b*) p. 275. (*c*) p. 274. (*d*) p. 275. (*e*) p. 275.

(*f*) Sixteen drams to the ounce, ſixteen ounces to the pound.

The price of the former, now wheat is at 6 *s.* per buſhel, is — — — — 8 pence.
And of the latter — — — 6 pence.

	lb.	oz.	dr.
In the ſame proportion the two-penny wheaten loaf is to weigh — —	1	1	6
The two-penny houſhold — — —	1	7	3
The difference in the weight, (except a twelfth of a dram) is — — -		5	13
which difference on the 1 lb. 7 oz. 3 dr. is a fourth part, or per cent. — —	25	-	-

The compoſition neceſſary to the making good *houſehold* bread being aſcertained by proper regulations under legiſlative authority, the good ends in view may be obtained: but we muſt act with a certain liberality to bakers and mealmen, and render both more upright, and conſequently more happy: we muſt all learn to diſtinguiſh what bread *is*, and *ſhould* be, otherwiſe we ſhall probably be *baffled* in our deſigns in favor of the poor. In every view ſuch *conſiderations* are *important*, as the pamphlet ſets forth, agreeably to its title.

In the mean time, in regard to *bakers*, we may obſerve that they are tempted to decline giving us genuine houſhold bread, no rule being preſcribed what parts of the wheat ſuch bread ſhall be compoſed of. The ſaying that the baker ſhall make his wheaten and houſhold bread reſpectively of ſuch qualities, that three of one may be equal to four of the other, left the baker involved in a difficulty; but he ſoon extricated himſelf, by reſolving to make only *wheaten* bread: and the way he took to accompliſh this was, by making ſuch *bad houſhold bread*, that no beggar would eat it.

Nor

Nor ſhould we wonder, particularly in cities and towns, if the common people of England, a country abounding in corn, and where there is ſuch great occaſion for bran, for the food of ſeveral kinds of *animals*, ſhould object to the eating of bread made with any *great* portion of ſuch bran, *whilſt they are able to purchaſe good genuine houſhold bread.*

I am, Yours, *&c.*

Various Kinds of Bread now in faſhion.—Good Houſhold Bread the only true Standard for general Uſe.

LETTER XLI.

WHITE bread is at preſent *out of faſhion* with great numbers of the ſuperior ranks, and every kind of invention is introduced, by ſome bakers, to pleaſe cuſtomers, and amuſe them.

No. 2. I bought a ſmall loaf of *meſling* or miſcellany bread, made a great part of rye, which renders it much browner, yet moiſter, than houſhold; and if eaten with butter, is generally eſteemed as a variety.—But the price was *three* pence, the ſame as the wheaten bread, the loaf weighing — — 1 lb. 8 oz. 12 dr.
and comes out per lb. at — — — 1 *d.* $\frac{93}{100}$
The reaſon alledged for charging this price was, that the bread is made of the *beſt* wheaten and *beſt* rye flour.

No. 3. The next loaf I tried was *houſhold* bread, as it was called, but ſo black and huſky, that not even faſhion could render it tolerable. I have eaten of ſuch at a great table, where I heard it commended, for no other reaſon

reaſon which I could diſcover, but that it was *not white:* it has ſo much bran in it, and ſo little fine flour, and ſome baker's tricks play'd off into the bargain, it can never pleaſe *for a month* together. This was a loaf of ſtandard weight, and coſt 3 d. — 2 lb. 2 oz. 12 dr. and at this price it comes per lb. to — — $1d\ \frac{45}{100}$
Houſe-rent, repairs, taxes, and the maſter bakers ſupport ſuppoſed to be included.

No. 4. Upon examining the loaf of another, being a *half quarter*ñ, which he called good houſhold bread, it weighed the ſecond day — 2 - 1 - 12
which is ſhort of the aſſize — — — 1
This being at the price of 3 pence comes out per lb. — — — — — $1d\frac{42}{100}$
I obſerved it had nothing of the native ſweetneſs of the wheat, and became dry very ſoon.

No. 5. I bought another loaf, viz. a quartern loaf of houſhold bread for *ſix-pence*, weighed the *ſecond* day — — — 4 4 8
and conſequently ſhort of the aſſize only — 1
and comes out per lb. —— —— $1d\ \frac{41}{100}$
and differs from No. 1. (*a*) only — — $\frac{11}{100}$

One would not imagine that $\frac{11}{100}$, or, as we may call it, *one tenth of a penny a pound* would anſwer for houſe-rent, repairs, taxes, and the ſupport of the maſter baker and his wife and family, *as people can now live.* At the ſame time it may be obſerved, that if he works up 1000 lb. of bread a day with the ſame hands, it is not much leſs than 100 pence or 8*s.* 4*d.* If I am rightly

(*a*) Pages 266, 269.

informed he makes more, and as he may perchance mix water enough to gain a peck loaf on 280 lb. of flour, it will be 2 *s.* more, but he muſt labour *himſelf* very hard. — In the mean time he ſaves one ſervant's wages in carriage, for if you will have of his good bread you muſt *ſend* for it to his ſhop.

I muſt here obſerve, that if theſe cities conſume 600,000 quarters of wheat annually, at the rate of 497 lb. of bread per quarter, it is — lb. 298,200,000
and per day — — — — lb. 816,986
Divided among 700 bakers (*a*), each is — lb. 1,167

This cheap baker can make his buſineſs anſwer only by quantity.

I muſt not omit to tell you that even this *extraordinary* good *bread*, appears to have the common fault of having more water, than bread made by private perſons, where equal ſkill is employed, and not to be ſo thoroughly baked as it ought to be. This is conſtantly practiſed by bakers, with a view to make up the weight of bread.

Upon this view of the matter, it ſeems beſt to fix the *aſſize* on *houſhold bread only*, leſt the approach of the houſhold, when really *good*, ſhould give occaſion to the making the wheaten bread *bad*; and at length the baker calling bad *good*, will make the people pay the higheſt price, under a notion of a ſuperior commodity, when in fact neither is good, and the intention of the legiſlature is entirely defeated. And what parts of the wheat

bakers

(*a*) Some pretend there are but 560 bakers; but this encreaſes the quantity to each.

bakers make bread of, they cannot tell; they buy ſuch flour as they think will anſwer their end, and look no further; ſo that the conſumer is entirely at a loſs.

In the mean time, if this man proves to be a *Phœnix*, it will not ſignify much. How ſhall we go about *in general* to aſcertain an object concerning which the laws are ſilent; namely, the quantities or proportions of the ſeveral kinds of flour produced from the quarter of wheat, which ſhall conſtitute the *wheaten* and *houſhold bread?* We muſt be of opinion what the latter ſhould *not* be, either as to the fineſt flour only, or ſuch a mixture of coarſe pollard or bran, as may render it ſoon dry, or unpleaſant. We may reaſonably conclude, *whether it be in itſelf reaſonable or not*, that what the *rich* will not chuſe to eat for any continuance, tho' they may do it a while for the ſake of *novelty*, the *poor will* reject; I mean the poor in great towns and cities, where a kind of ſimilarity of manners prevails, and where they are able to buy better.

If the baker alſo continues at the mercy of the miller or mealman, how is it poſſible any ſtandard can be fixed, but by ſome penal law, and yet it muſt not be an illeberal one. Whether for wheaten or *houſhold* bread, we muſt guard againſt the term *brown*; for *black* and *brown* are the ſame, and not the true color of houſhold bread. We muſt guard our *words*, and at length find out their determinate ſenſe and meaning.

I take for granted that ſome thouſands of quarters of wheat will be annually conſumed in cakes and paſtry, biſcuit, gingerbread, and ſuch like, but this need not

affect the bread. If we mean to deliver ourſelves out of the preſent difficulty, we muſt make the bread out of the whole wheat, and not ſubmit to take the refuſe for the beſt uſe. Let the mealman divide what is intended for other objects as he pleaſes, but not touch the wheat intended for bread after it is made into meal, except to bolt off ſuch bran and pollard as is not uſed in the bread.

If we ſet ſeven wheaten loaves againſt ſix houſhold loaves of the ſame weight, we may have a chance of good houſhold bread; but more certainly if we fix the aſſize on the *houſhold* only, and leave the wheaten or white, as we have for ſome years paſt left the houſhold, or as we leave the French bread. If people will buy *white* bread, let them buy it as they do cake: but the baker at his peril not to make his houſhold bread at a lower ſtandard than the law may direct, and let it not be ſuch a law as will tempt him to go aſtray, and impoſe on mankind.

As to the preſent diſtinctions of flour, the ſeveral prices are mere matter of opinion: but if the object is fixed by legiſlative authority, we may hope to ſee the day when the *rich* and the *poor* will eat their *bread* ſecure from the vile adulterations and impure mixtures, which of late years have preyed on our *liberty* or civil juſtice, if not our *vitals*, and juſtly raiſed our indignation, tho' we knew not how to relieve ourſelves without bringing on greater miſchiefs. Now the matter ſeems to come to light.

Whether the bakers will be ingenuous in this matter or not, *effectual trials* can be made: we muſt ſuppoſe that

if

if they can gain on genuine houſhold bread, yet if they can gain conſiderably more on *wheaten*, they will certainly prefer making the latter, if they can ſell it.

In reſpect to bread for the purchaſe of thoſe who eat by the *half-penny*, I find ſome of the rolls weigh 4 oz. 10 drams, and ſome ſuch 3 oz. 10 drams, ſo that the poor eat their *white* bread at a *miſerable* diſadvantage.

In taking a further view of the comparative merits of bread from obſervation and experiments, I find matter either for curioſity or uſe, tho' ſubject to ſome miſtakes. I take for granted that except in the article of *alum* there are many honeſt bakers: but if you buy flour of one, the ſame as he ſays he makes his bread of, he will make you pay the ſame price as if it was made into bread. This upon the whole is warrantable, as his proper trade is *baking* not *ſelling of flour*, for *you* to take *his bread out of his mouth*.

No. 6. Of ſuch flour I cauſed bread to be made, by a good houſewife, in a proper manner, in which private people are often *ignorant* or careleſs. I found upon the compariſon with the ſame baker's bread, that mine broke ſhort even the *firſt* day, and was ſweet; his was doughy, clammy, and not ſo well flavored. The *ſecond* day mine was the more agreeable for keeping; the *third* and *fourth* even to the *ſixth* day, it was not only eatable, but broke ſhort, retaining a portion of moiſture, and was pleaſant to the pallate.

On the other hand, the ſame baker's bread was *dry* the ſecond day, huſky the third, the fourth was hardly fit for ſoop, and like any thing you can imagine, except

good bread. As to the price of the bread ſo made, the ingredients were common, and nothing extraordinary: but ſuppoſing the flour he ſold me to be all of 42*s.* per ſack of 280 lb. which I ſuſpect, it is nothing more than the bakers are *required* to make their white bread of, and ſuppoſed to make it of; which ſhews the rank abſurdity of attempting to make two kinds at ſo great a difference in price, to be both ſuch as *will go down.*

No. 7. I tried yet another experiment with *one third* part of the baker's flour, which he ſaid was 4 months old, and two thirds *freſh ground flour* (of the ſame mentioned page 266) and found it made ſubſtantial, well-taſted, and agreeable bread, tho' below the ſtandard of the bakers in point of *whiteneſs.* I obſerved alſo, that as to the time of its continuing ſweet, moiſt, ſhort, and well-flavored, it threw all the bakers bread, and all the ſeveral other ſpecies which I had tried before, far behind it. It ſeemed to be near equal to what bread may be of the whole meal of a quarter of wheat, taking out 100 to 110 lb. of bran and pollard; ſuppoſing alſo the flour, or a part of it, to have been kept a few months; for in converſing with bakers I find much depends on this circumſtance, as to the lightneſs, color, and flavor of bread. The taſte and color, as well as ſome other diſtinctions, may depend on the *fancy*; but its purity, nutricious qualities, and price, depend on the *judgment*, which muſt ultimately fix the ſtandard.

I am yours, &c.

Computa-

Computation of the Standard of ſuch Houſhold Bread as may anſwer all the good Ends in view, reduced as low in Price; as there ſeems to be the greateſt Probability of ſucceeding in the Attempt, without any juſt Complaints.

LETTER XLII.

PREJUDICES of every kind are ſecret enemies to *truth*, they lie in ambuſcade to enſnare her. The hardeſt taſk is for a man to give his own mind *fair play*. —I write to you in behalf of the *poor*, but I mean not to compliment them, or the *rich*. Exceſs of mercy to one, or fear or hope from the other, may alike betray into a deſertion of the *cauſe of truth*.

Let us then take an attentive view of a *quarter of wheat:* it is an object, as important as life, tho' the ſound is vulgar and inharmonious.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1 quarter of 58 lb. to the buſhel, coſting —	2	8	0
Charges of grinding, bolting, and making into bread, ſuch as I have reaſon to believe a common baker muſt pay — 8*s.* 10*d.*			
Deduct for bran and pollard 95 lb. on a medium of the 3 diviſions below, ſold for — — — —	3	3 - 0	5 7
Coſt of the bread in this view	2	13	7

I will ſhew you 3 different kinds of bread on a *table of diviſions*, and how many quartern loaves they uſually produce in a baker's hands.

Bran

Bran and pollard taken out. lb.	Rendered flour. lb.	Rendered bread. lb.	Quartern loaves of 4, 5, 8.	Additional loaves supposed to be made of the flour.	Total number of loaves
85	375	492	113¼	7	120¼
95	365	479	110¼	6	116¼
105	355	465	107	5	112

Thus the *first table* stands spread at 7 different costs, viz.

85 lb. of bran and pollard taken from the quarter of wheat.	Price to be sold at.	Gain to the baker and mealman on 1 quarter of wheat made into bread, costing 2*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*		
Loaves.	*Pence.*	*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
120½	6 -	-	6	8
120½	6 ¼	-	9	2
120½	6 ½	-	11	8½
120½	6 ¾	-	14	2¾
120½	7 -	-	16	8¾
120½	7 ¼	-	19	3
120½	8 -	1	6	9

Here it must be observed, that 14 lb. of flour is computed by the assize to make 1 peck loaf of — — — — — — lb. oz. dr. 17 6 -

Consequently 3½ lb. will make 1 *quartern* loaf of 4 5 8

And 375 lb. will therefore make 107 such loaves.

But we know from experiments made, and from the weight of flour as above, in the *table of divisions*, that 375 will make of such loaves — — 113¼

And I have taken the liberty to *debit* the baker more — — — — loaves 7

Presuming that he really makes in all —— 120¼

If

If ſuch preſumption is unwarrantable, I muſt ſtand corrected: but when I hear from a *baker*, that ſome bakers will make *two peck loaves*, or 8 quartern loaves, out of a ſack of meal of 280lb. more than others; if ſome *confeſs* that *about* 90 ſuch loaves are made of 280lb. I am ſupported in the belief, that it is no uncommon practice; and that 375 lb. of flour in a baker's hands do often make loaves — — — — — $120\frac{1}{4}$

But let the ſame quantity be made into $113\frac{1}{4}$ loaves only, and compared with *true houſhold bread*; let the baking, the moiſture, and the taſte of one and the other be examined, even till the *ſixth day*, and common ſenſe will carry us a great way in the concluſion. The one has its native moiſture, the other is devoid of *ſmell* and *taſte*, like a ſponge grown dry after it has been filled with water.

If 6 loaves are taken off the 113, and they are ſet at the medium price of 6 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, they will amount to - 3*s.* $4\frac{1}{2}$ and conſequently the 14*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ will be reduced to 10 $10\frac{1}{4}$

This we may be ſure of, that the *better* the *wheat*, the *more loaves* there will be; ſo that the argument againſt fixing the ſtandard on a certain produce of *flour* from a quarter of wheat ſeems to be ridiculous: for the advantage will ſtill be on the produce in *flour*; and I am amazed to hear any one contend for eating our preſent *white bread*, *on account of the bakers profit*, when theſe may gain as much, or a very handſome ſupport, on *houſhold bread*. There muſt be *mealmen* at the bottom of this matter.

It is difficult to fix the thing definitively, in any trade, that the profeſſors or practicers in it ſhall gain ſo much,

Bran and pollard taken out. lb.	Rendered flour. lb.	Rendered bread. lb.	Quartern loaves of 4, 5, 8.	Additional loaves supposed to be made of the flour.	Total number of loaves
85	375	492	113¼	7	120¼
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Loaves.	*Pence.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
120½	6 -	-	6	8
120½	6 ¼	-	9	2
120½	6 ½	-	11	8½
120½	6 ¾	-	14	2¾
120½	7 -	-	16	8¾
120½	7 ¼	-	19	3
120½	8 -	1	6	9

Here it muſt be obſerved, that 14 lb. of flour is computed by the aſſize to make 1 peck loaf of — — — — — — 17 lb. 6 oz. -

Conſequently 3½ lb. will make 1 *quartern* loaf of 4 5 8

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But we know from experiments made, and from the weight of flour as above, in the *table of diviſions*, that 375 will make of ſuch loaves — — 113¼

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If ſuch preſumption is unwarrantable, I muſt ſtand corrected: but when I hear from a *baker*, that ſome bakers will make *two peck loaves*, or 8 quartern loaves, out of a ſack of meal of 280lb. more than others; if ſome *confeſs* that *about* 90 ſuch loaves are made of 280lb. I am ſupported in the belief, that it is no uncommon practice; and that 375 lb. of flour in a baker's hands do often make loaves — — — — — 120¼

But let the ſame quantity be made into 113¼ loaves only, and compared with *true houſhold bread*; let the baking, the moiſture, and the taſte of one and the other be examined, even till the *ſixth day*, and common ſenſe will carry us a great way in the concluſion. The one has its native moiſture, the other is devoid of *ſmell* and *taſte*, like a ſponge grown dry after it has been filled with water.

If 6 loaves are taken off the 113, and they are ſet at the medium price of 6 *d.* ¾, they will amount to - 3*s.* 4½ and conſequently the 14*s.* 2*d.* ¾ will be reduced to 10 10¼

This we may be ſure of, that the *better* the *wheat*, the *more loaves* there will be; ſo that the argument againſt fixing the ſtandard on a certain produce of *flour* from a quarter of wheat ſeems to be ridiculous: for the advantage will ſtill be on the produce in *flour*; and I am amazed to hear any one contend for eating our preſent *white bread*, *on account of the bakers profit*, when theſe may gain as much, or a very handſome ſupport, on *houſhold bread*. There muſt be *mealmen* at the bottom of this matter.

It is difficult to fix the thing definitively, in any trade, that the profeſſors or practicers in it ſhall gain ſo much,

neither more nor leſs, when we ſee ſuch a difference in men's induſtry and abilities. In the mean while the 10*s.* 10*d.* ¼ is a handſome gain.

You ſee this kind of bread at 7*d.* being thus forced, may give a gain of 16*s.* 8 *d.* ¼; and I think it is incomparably better worth 7*d.* than the common *wheaten bread* of the ſame weight, altho' the latter ſells for 8 pence.

Whilſt others draw proofs and arguments from the *aſſize tables*, contained in the Act of 31 K. Geo. II. I build on a foundation of *experiments*, the ſame as if there was no act exiſting, *except for the weight of a loaf*. As to any juſt cauſe of complaint of the exorbitant advantages accruing to bakers, it is not *houſhold bread properly ſo denominated*, which gives ſuch advantages.

Wheat being at 48*s.* per quarter, a quartern loaf of ſuch bread as might obtain an univerſal good character at 7*d.* will not give any enormous gain; or more than to anſwer for all the various charges to which the mealman and baker are ſubject, *in theſe dear times*. We muſt not *ſtarve* bakers who are to *feed* us. If their flour is not *over watered*, nor their bread *under baked*, I believe 7*d.* the loaf will ſet both trades on a *reaſonable* foundation.

If we conſider what the law requires, *i. e.* 4 houſhold to 3 wheaten loaves, the difference of 1 on 3 is per cent. — — — — — 33⅓

But if upon a compariſon of the bread fit for uſe, and agreeable to the people, inſtead of 1 on 3 it ſhould be only 1 on 7, the difference is only — 14⅓

And how ſhall we find out any ſuch per cent. as 19 in the quality of the flour, as divided by the baker? But we ſhall eaſily diſcover why a baker prefers to receive

8 pence

8 pence for a loaf which he *can* ſell, rather than 6 pence for a loaf which he cannot make good enough for 6*d.* to ſatisfy the *conſumer*, unleſs he ſtarves himſelf.

If a greater number than 5 ſuch additional loaves are made, more than above computed, then the *quality* of the *white bread* will be run down ſo much the more, *i. e.* it will be the worſe baked, and the ſooner grow huſky; tho' the gain of wheat per quarter may be run up higher.

Whether ſuch additional loaves be more or leſs, this evil, joined to the price of eight pence a quartern loaf, for *ſuch* bread, I take to be the grand battery, which if poſſible we muſt *ſilence*.

Perhaps you will not think the bread in my *firſt table* ſufficiently good to anſwer all the wiſe ends propoſed; let us therefore examine the next degree of fineneſs, by taking out 10 lb. more of bran and pollard, and I apprehend it will approach ſo much nearer the object we have in view.

SECOND TABLE.

Loaves of 95 lb. bran and pollard taken out of the quarter of wheat.	Price ſold at.	Gain to the baker, &c. on 2l. 13s. 7d. the coſt and charges of manufacturing 1 quarter of wheat.
116¼	6 -	- 4 6½
116¼	6 ¼	- 6 11½
116¼	6 ½	- 9 4½
116¼	6 ¾	- 11 9½
116¼	7 -	- 14 2¾
116¼	7 ¼	- 16 7¾
116¼	8 -	1 3 11

I am inclined to believe that the bread abovementioned, being at 7*d.* will leave a competent ſupport for the baker and mealman.

As to the white or *wheaten* bread in the hands of the bakers, we know as little of the true compoſition or parts of the wheat of which it is made, as of *houſhold* bread, which is not ſpecifically provided for by law. If we take it to be all of the 224lb. of flour produced from a quarter of wheat, of 59 lb. per buſhel, or 220lb. of 58 lb. ſo made into bread, it will coſt, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
1 quarter of wheat — — — —	2	8	0
Charges of manufactury into bread about —	0	3	10
	2	11	10
Deduct for *ſeconds*, *fine middlings*, and *coarſe middlings*, 126lb. ſold for 15*s.*	0		
Dittos fine pollard, coarſe dittos, horſe dittos, and bran 114lb. — 3 9	0	18	9
Coſt of 1 quarter made into bread —	1	13	1
220lb. of flour, at $3\frac{1}{2}$lb. each *quartern* loaf, as by law appointed, is within a ſingle fraction 63 loaves, which at 8*d.* is — — —	2	2	0
Conſequently the legal gain — —	0	8	11

This, without reckoning any additional loaves, is about the 12*s.* which the magiſtrate allows, becauſe here is not above two thirds of the flour produced from a *quarter* of wheat, which is actually worked up.

Nobody believes but that many bakers buy a ſmaller portion of the fine flour for their wheaten bread, than of the other inferior ſorts, which by regrinding are reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that themſelves can hardly diſtinguiſh. And if it were *true*, that the wheaten bread is made of the fineſt flour only, as the law ſuppoſes, the abſurdity is

glaring; for the fine bearing at leaſt as 22 to 35, whilſt the higher ranks, who are ſuppoſed to eat fine bread, are certainly not ten in thirty-five, the common people cannot poſſibly be ſupplied with the 13 parts. Ginger-bread and biſcuit muſt alſo be provided for, out of the 13 parts.

As to the pollard and bran which the miller pretends to take out, as far as 118 lb. in a quarter of wheat, of 59 lb. per buſhel, there can be no doubt, but that the fineſt pollards are regrinded, and made into biſcuit and gingerbread; but ſtill the abſurdity remains. For if any *pollards* are added to the ſeconds, middlings, and coarſe middlings, and ſome of the bran alſo, with little or none of the fine flour, and made into bread, under the name of *houſhold*, we ſhall find ſuch bread ſo bad as to be rejected by beggars; and no wonder, if they can get better aliment.

If we take the whole quarter, it may be divided into forty-five parts, viz, 22 fine, 12 inferior ſorts, and 11 coarſe, or bran and pollard.

The preſumption that wheaten bread is all made of the fineſt flour, is in every view fallacious: it will not be found to *be true*; and if it is *not true*, it is an injurious impoſition; and if it *were true*, it would be a moſt impolitic abſurdity, as already mentioned, aggravated by the *cuſtom* of the common people here eating this kind of bread only. It would be like feeding on ortolans when mutton is in itſelf better food.

In another ſtate of this matter there ſeems to be a ſtronger probability as to the truth, though no propriety, in regard to the commodity, viz.

One

	l.	s.	d.
One quarter of wheat — —	2	8	0
Charges of manufacturing into bread — -		7	10
Deduct, on the principle of 58 lb. to the buſhel, for 116 lb. of wheat, bran, and pollard, ſold -		4	-
Remains — — — —	2	11	10

The quarter of wheat, at 58 lb. per buſhel, will then produce in *flour* nearly — — lb. 347

In *bread* — — — —	440
In quartern loaves (according to the rate page 288) -	99
Which at *eight pence* each is — — —	3 6 0
Conſequently the gain on it is — —	0 14 2

There is the utmoſt reaſon to uſe near 42 lb. in bread, more than ſuppoſed to be uſed, *i. e.* to make our bread in general, of 100 lb. only taken out of each quarter of wheat, inſtead of 142 lb. ſeeing that the opening our ports does not lower the price, for it is now advancing (*a*).

Fame gives the bakers on 280 lb. flour, 8 quartern loaves more than the aſſize ſuppoſes to be taken; and if ſo, the baker's gain is ſo much the more conſiderable, but it is clandeſtine gain. If it really gives *more* nutriment, the bakers are friends to the community; but if it gives *leſs*, it provokes people to eat *new bread*, and we devour ſo much the more; ſo that they had much better leave us to liquify good bread in good broths and ſoops, in which it appears to me that *genuine* bread will incorporate much better than adulterated bread. This I recommend to the trial of the curious, and alſo how far the aliment is more nutritive.

Much

(*a*) It muſt be conſidered that 93,500 *l.* value in wheat, at 50 *s.* per quarter, is but 3 weeks conſumption for the bills of mortality only.

Much of this ſecret depends, not only on the quality or age of the flour, but on the wheat of which it is made, and its age. The ſame wheat, if I am not miſinformed, of a former harveſt, will render in a quarter, more than in *freſh wheat*, very conſiderably, which reconciles a part of the difficulty.

You may imagine that I am reckoning without my *hoſt*; but it is not altogether ſo: and I can tell you our hoſts, the baker, and the mealman, probably gain full as much as I aſſign them. In order to give you ſatisfaction, I ſpread another table.

THIRD TABLE.

Loaves of 105 lb. bran and pollard taken out of the quarter of wheat.	Price ſold at.	Gain to the baker and mealman or miller, on 2l. 13s. 7d. coſt, and charges of manufacturing one quarter of wheat.
112	- - 6	- 2 5
112	- - 6¼	- 4 9
112	- - 6½	- 7 1
112	- - 6¾	- 9 5
112	- - 7	- 11 9
112	- - 7¼	- 14 1
112	- - 8	1 1 1
On the quarter (page 292.) ſuppoſed made of all *fine flour* - - - 63	- - 8	- 8 11
Ditto *with midling flours* (page 294.) - - - - - 99	- - 8	- 14 2

Suppoſing a baker confined to 106 inſtead of 112 loaves, and no body doubts of this being a *truer ſtandard*, then his gain at 7*d.* will be — — — — 8*s.* 3*d.* If any deductions can be made on the charges of the manufacture, it is ſo much more; the ſame of the additional

tional loaves, if he makes any; alſo his own perſonal labor, and likewiſe his working up more than a quarter of wheat.

I am perſuaded, that flour of *this* degree of fineneſs, be it kept a month or two, or mixed, ſome of a leſs age, and ſome new, will, in the hands of a London baker, who is a maſter of his trade, make bread which the greateſt perſonage in the land would prefer to whiter bread, and yet give the meal-man and baker a *living profit* at 7*d.* each loaf. And if we give 7*d.* for a *good* thing, which will *keep* for ſeveral days, inſtead of 8*d.* for what we know to be *bad*, *i. e.* adulterated, and fit for eating only the *firſt* or *ſecond* day, we ſhall be very conſiderable gainers by bringing ſuch a ſpecies of bread into common uſe, at a fixed ſtandard, both as to the *price*, and *true* quantity, whether it ſhould occaſion a ſmaller *conſumption* or not.

As to the two laſt articles of wheaten bread in the above table, the *gain* as ſtated is not ſo conſiderable as upon ſome others; but this is ſuppoſing the baker to practiſe no arts.

Upon the whole, by the *tyranny of cuſtom*, we pay moſt for what is leaſt approved; and for what cannot be ſo productive of good to the community as a cheaper bread.

Which ever table or price you chuſe, it muſt alſo appear, as I apprehend, to men who can *ſee*, *taſte*, and *ſmell*, and to the learned, who underſtand the powers and conſtruction of the human body, that this commodity at 7*d.* is better than that for which we now pay 8*d.* and the *goodneſs* is even a higher conſideration than the *pecuniary* value: for although *alum*, which I am perſwaded is uſed, may be good in a ſmall degree, to people

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in fluxes, it muſt be bad for all others who are not in fluxes.

If ſuch quartern loaf roſe or fell a farthing, as wheat differed 2*s.* 3*d.* in a quarter, the matter would be ſo equally poiſed, that no one would have reaſon to complain: no one need be tenacious of an opinion, but what is founded on experiment, and the teſtimony of their ſenſes; and all kinds of mixtures and adulterations might be ſo guarded againſt, that it ſhould be deemed a capital offence to practiſe on the lives of his majeſty's ſubjects; or to treſpaſs, in this inſtance, on the laws of equity and humanity. The ſkill of the magiſtrate would be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh when to riſe or fall the *farthing* per loaf, as it would often be more or leſs than 2*s.* 3*d.* per quarter in the riſe or fall of the price of wheat.

If *half* quartern loaves are made for the ſervice of the poor, why not coin *half-farthings here, as they do in other countries, for the ſervice of the poor?* Theſe might be of great uſe to ſhew them the *value* of money, which is a ſcience almoſt loſt in this land. Large loaves of half or whole peck keep the longeſt moiſt: in ſome parts of England they make bread of two or three pecks.

We are perplexed about bread, as the *financier*, the *merchant*, and the *cuſtom-houſe clerk*, about *cuſtoms*. If, for inſtance, one commodity has half a dozen different duties, differently appropriated, it requires parts, and experience, and memory, to digeſt them. Juſt ſo with the bakers and the conſumers of bread, only that the duties are open to inſpection, the produce of wheat guarded as the *myſteries* of the *Bona Dea*.—But this may be developed,

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and make the trade of a baker, as it ought to be, a plain ſimple buſineſs, eaſy and familiar to the moſt common underſtanding.

You ſee the above account is ſtated as if the baker were to have all that is called *gain* on a quarter of wheat; and if he had, he might perhaps live a little beyond the rank of a baker; and ſo far confound the order of things; as the farmer, who attends the growth of the wheat, now treads on the heels of the gentleman who owns the land, and apes him in his *manner of living*. But unleſs the baker can work up and vend *two* or *three* quarters a day, which would coſt him more for laborage, houſe-room, *&c.* he cannot receive a very conſiderable gain.

The method which appears to be the moſt political way of computing, is to provide for the little and the great. We have reaſon enough to complain of the undiſtinguiſhing prejudices of the times; but our *ſalvation*, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, muſt come from above. Virtue muſt deſcend. In the mean time, we muſt provide for the lives of all ſubjects. We muſt *give bread* to the leſſer baker, as well as the greater, and promote the great cauſe of *comfort* and *population*.

To begin the work, let us ſeriouſly conſider, if upon the laſt computation of one quarter of wheat in bread ſold at 7 *d.* per loaf, the gain is too much or not; remembering that ſpeculative ideas of reducing the *midling* ranks of people to a lower pitch of living, whilſt every thing is *riſing* upon them, partly on account of the *vaſt property* of the higher claſſes, who can afford to pay,

is

is deluſive. The firſt ranks muſt ſhew the example, and reduce their *ſpeculation* to practice; and this they now have the *faireſt* opportunity of doing: if *they* will not comply, and if we *periſh*, it will be *but fair* to ceaſe complaining of the *poor*.

The *gain*, to anſwer for the ſupport and the various contingencies of traffic in meal, and baking, ſtands upon the abſtract of the three forementioned tables as follows:

lb. of bran and pollard taken out of a quarter of wheat.	Loaves at	at 6*d.*	at 6*d.* ¼.	at 6*d.* ½	at 6*d.* ¾	at 7*d.*	at 7¼.	at 8*d.*
		s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*
85	120½	6 8	9 2	11 8½	14 2¾	16 8¾	19 3	1 6 9
95	116¼	4 6½	6 11½	9 4½	11 9½	14 2¾	16 7¾	1 3 11
105	112	2 5	4 9	7 1	9 5	11 9	14 1	1 1 1

The medium between the 95 and 105 lb. is 100lb.
and the gain at 7*d.* on the medium of 114 loaves — 13 s. -
on 106 loaves only — — — — 8 4
which is 3*s.* 8*d.* ſhort of the allowance made by the magiſtrate on wheaten bread.

The firſt object is, which is really the beſt bread: the next, if the bread is cheap and wholeſome; and the third, to *fix upon a rule*. Seeing how difficult it is in theſe days to keep men to *their duty, and under good order and diſcipline*, I conceive the only probable way to ſucceed, is to make but *one ſtandard of bread*.

Whatever is made further, being in *penny* loaves, weight not aſcertained, ſhould be left to the *ſeller* and *buyer*. This would prevent the common people from turning their brains, and keep ſuch bread from domeſtic

uſe: it would become truly *houſhold*, and we ſhould underſtand what we are about. The *poor* would ſave a penny in *eight*, and have good wholeſome, ſweet, and nouriſhing aliment; and as far as the dearneſs of *corn* admits, *be contented*; and probably the *rich* would not complain of enormous profits being made.

In regard to the *gain*, we muſt remember that it cannot be all hoarded up; it muſt pay houſe rent, —repairs—taxes—inſurance of property—loſs on trade by accidents—loſs by bad debts on credit given to *bakers*; or *by* bakers to thoſe who call themſelves *rich*—for the maſter baker's own ſupport, and it may be hoped that he has a wife and children to take care of.

It extends farther; for if the miller is not cloſely attended, he will not content himſelf, *as ſome charge*, with 2*s.* for grinding, nor 2*s.* 6*d.* for grinding and dreſſing, a quarter.

If we ſet the price at 7*d.* per quartern loaf, and the gain per quarter of wheat at 9 or 10*s.* only; if we take in the maſter baker's own labor, and the additional quantity, above a quarter, which he may work up, we may then compute the gain at 14*s.* but not 14*s.* on a *quarter* only.

By the mode propoſed he will eaſily learn how much he ſhould pay; and what gains will be left for the mealman and himſelf, according as he can ſave charges, which muſt vary with diſtances, houſing of flour, times and ſeaſons. It is not poſſible to make a law but that the *gain* will be greater or leſs at different times, and in different parts of the kingdom; for which reaſon magiſtrates have a latitude in making the aſſize, to allow more or leſs for ſuch gain.

There

There are conſiderable quantities of flour *occaſionally* brought to market by land, at near 1*s.* per ſack; but it is chiefly brought by *water*; yet being ſeldom grinded ſo near navigable rivers, or in wind-mills, but that the *mealman* or *miller* muſt carry it ſome diſtance, upon the whole his charges will often ſtand nearly thus:

	s.	*d.*
Carriage of a ſack of flour to the barge —	0	4
Waterage to London — — — —	0	4
Landing — — — — —	0	2
Warehouſe room — — —	0	6
Cartage when ſold — — —	0	9
Inſurance on the way, and in warehouſe — —	0	2
Del credere in giving truſt, about 2 per cent. —	0	9
	2	11

If a ſack of 280lb. makes a charge of 2*s.* 11*d.* 365lb. if he brings all the produce of 1 quarter of wheat in flour to market, will be near — — — 3 10

Allow a profit of 2 per cent. which as he makes quick returns, is very ample, on the price of 38*s.* per quarter, it is — — — — 9

So that upon this charge, on *this bulky commodity*, till brought from the mill to the baker's ſhop, it *may* frequently be *near* — — 4 9

to the mealman, which reconciles the apparent great gains aſcribed to the baker; for on 14*s.* there remains but — — — — 10 0

which on 365 days inceſſant labor, is per ann. 156*l.* 10 0

Now conſidering how uſeful a ſubject a good baker is, can this be eſteemed an extravagant gain?

If

If we may judge from appearances, there are but few bakers who really make 10*s.* a day, though it muſt anſwer for all their rents, taxes, clothing and food. Yet I grant this to be enough to encourage the trade and promote population. And if we conſider that many *gentlemen* ſerve for forty and fifty pounds a year, in *clerkſhips*, this is no contemptible ſum for a *baker*; and carries with it ſuch marks of liberality and juſtice, that no good foundation of complaint can be made on *his* part.

As to the *corn-factor*, his gain, whatever it might be, he has received it in the 48*s.* How many ſuch factors there are, who make conſiderable eſtates, I never heard: I believe the number is ſmall. It is an article of traffic, and ſhould afford gain, as well as many leſſer concerns of life and commerce. If quick returns are made, 5 per cent. on 40*s.* is conſiderable.

This amounts to per quarter — — — - 2 -
on 50*s.* — — — — - 2 6

As to the *monopolizing wheat* in greater or leſs quantities, and keeping up the price, to the injury of the poor, this is *another* conſideration: but in every view the charge will fall, or ſeem to fall heavy on the price which the landholder receives.—Let us not go, as we uſually do, from one *extreme* into another, whence it may happen that nothing will be done, whilſt it is ſo apparent, that a reduction of 1 in 8 *may*, and *ought to be* made.

I moſt readily agree with you, that the paſſion for gain perverts our reaſon, and leads us headlong into numerous miſchiefs; but there muſt be trafficers in corn, or I fear we ſhould be in danger of *ſtarving* occaſionally, in ſeveral parts of this land of plenty.

Corn is not ſo tickliſh an article at home, but I remember to have gained 70 per cent. on *two* cargoes at Liſbon, and loſt 70 per cent. on *three*. And a houſe there, which was conſtantly and deeply in the corn-trade, aſſured me, that upon a medium they had not made above 5 per cent. per annum on their corn-buſineſs.

The moſt miſchievous animals in devouring the bread of the poor, are ſuppoſed to be the *mealmen*, *firſt*, *ſecond*, and *third*, for the meal ſometimes paſſes through ſeveral hands; yet were it not for *ſuch animals*, I fear we ſhould often be ſtarved in theſe great cities.

If the *baker* were made ſenſible of what parts of the quarter of wheat, the flour which he works up is compoſed, according to the bran and pollard taken out, he could tell what *price* it ſhould be at, with very little arithmetical knowledge; and thus he might check profits, and divide them with a reaſonable equality, which at preſent he is unable to do. In the mean time we muſt remember, that it is the unhappineſs of theſe vaſt cities, of which the *Important Conſiderations* takes notice, that we have not mills near us, ſufficient to grind for the conſumption of the inhabitants. This muſt neceſſarily add conſiderably to the *price of bread*, as it is evident the charges on flour ſent from the mill, near at hand, to the baker's ſhop, are conſiderably reduced. Of late years many are become millers; yet, as we are circumſtanced, in caſe of a ſcarcity of bread, if we import wheat, and cannot find where to grind a ſufficient quantity, eſpecially when *wind-mills* cannot work, we may be involved in the acuteſt diſtreſs.

The

The moſt marvellous conſideration is how food in general is furniſhed, for ſuch a multitude of people on one ſpot. Thus it ſeems neceſſary to provide more *water-mills* on the banks of the Thames, at or near London: and in caſe of *hard-froſt*, mills to work with *horſes*, as a *laſt reſort*; but theſe can be thought of only by the public. We have ingenuity to render the thing, by mechanical powers, more than poſſible.

I am yours, &c.

Some occaſional Obſervations on preparing Bread, and additional Remarks; with a moral and political Concluſion.

LETTER XLIII.

AS to the various cauſes which operate in the making good or bad bread, you may eaſily imagine them to be numerous: the quality of the grain ſown, the ſoil, the ſeaſons, the harveſt, the quality reaped, the grinding, the laying of the meal a due time after grinding, the bolting, &c. the laying the *ſponge*, in which the weather, and the quality of the yeaſt, alſo the time it lays, in order to render it *proof*, or capable of promoting the true fermentation and purgation, are all material circumſtances. On this laſt depends the leavening the whole maſs, and aſſiſts very much in the *color* of the bread, as well as in its *lightneſs*, as I obſerved in my laſt. This you perceive depends on the ſkilfulneſs of the *baker*; and when he does his duty as an honeſt, as well as a ſkilful man, he is not one of the leaſt members in ſociety.

I wiſh

I wiſh ſome expert perſon would give us an hiſtorical account of this matter, drawn from experience and obſervation, and as things now ſtand (*a*). Such a work would be of the higheſt importance at this time, and do any man honor. The writer ſhould be a *real baker*, but he might get various aſſiſtances from the number of ingenious perſons with whom this land abounds.

I have only to obſerve to you, in regard to (No. 7. page 276), no one who can wait ſhould make bread of flour which has been made leſs than 8 or 10 days: if it is a month old it may anſwer better. Where there is no art to encreaſe the quantity, or whiten the bread, ſuch flour being well kept, is found by experience to have ſome advantages of *newer* flour. But where illicit arts are intended, to encreaſe the quantity, or whiten the bread, if I apprehend the matter right, the baker will prefer flour which has been made too long a time, viz. ſix or eight months, provided it is ſweet.

Flour being well preſt in caſks, and kept from the air, will indeed remain eatable for a long time; 'tho' this depends on the quality of the wheat, and its being *kiln dryed*, the ſeaſon when packed, the tightneſs of the caſks, the tight packing, and ſuch like. I have eaten bread and paſtry of flour ſunk in the *Tagus*, where it had remained 18 or 20 months, in puncheons. After peeling off a cake or cruſt of 4 to 6 inches thick, the reſt ſeemed to be in a good if not a perfect ſtate.

(*a*) The *Farmer's Letters*, lately publiſhed, are worthy great attention; but we want the *Miller's* and *Baker's Letters*.

It muſt be obſerved, that in general there is a certain degree of acidity which flour contracts by time, which helps the ſponge in the firſt fermentation. To facilitate this operation our bakers often put in a few pounds or ounces, according to their quantity of bread, of *very old flour*, which is become hard as a ſtone, and is accordingly pounded before it can be uſed.

The bakers alſo inform us that *new flour* requires moſt ſalt: ſome put half, ſome three quarters, and in new flour a whole pound to the produce of a buſhel of wheat. Salt binds the parts without operating with the potency of alum. The bread will not keep the longer for the ſalt, but rather the contrary: in this reſpect vegetable and animal ſubſtances ſeem to be totally different. The Ruſſians eat ſalt with their bread, ſo do the French: and the beſt houſhold moiſt bread, with ſalt ſtrewed on it, is aliment for a prince.

When we come to examine into the cauſes why the bread of our *London* bakers is, as we find it to be, ſo dry, huſky, and ſeemingly innutricious, in a ſhort time; and in a word ſo apparently different from *honeſt* houſehold bread, made with equal ſkill, without any artful deſign, I apprehend we ſhall find ſome of the reaſons for it to be as follow:

1ſt. That the bakers either cannot conveniently purchaſe, or do not *prefer* ſuch a proportion of freſh flour, as, from its newneſs or proper age, retains a due portion of the native moiſture and ſweetneſs inherent in the wheat, becauſe it imbibes leſs water than *ſtale* flour.

2. The

2. The putting a due portion of water in the compoſition of bread, is one of the great ſecrets of a baker. The management of flour to make it imbibe more water than they are ſenſible will make the bread as it ought to be, is the *myſtery*. But as the baker's bread is for the moſt part eaten the *firſt* or *ſecond* day, he ſuppoſes it is not ſo neceſſary for him to look forward, as in places where they bake but once in a week or ten days.

3. The water really required is, per cent. about lb. 37
The yeaſt, if very good, at leaſt — — 1
Salt, being good, at the loweſt — — 1½
Meal made into beſt houſhold flour gives near — 77
In bread, weighed the ſecond day, gives an encreaſe *on the flour* about — — — — 26

4. Now, if a baker will *add* any conſiderable quantity of water more, as the bread dries, the more huſky it will be; he certainly can encreaſe his quantity of bread, but he muſt help it out with alum, or perhaps ſome other ingredients, and he may force out ſeveral loaves more than ſhould be attempted.

5. You have often heard of farmers playing tricks to make their wheat fill the buſhel. Even in a granary wheat will gain in meaſure, though it loſes in weight upon the meaſure, particularly in damp weather. Flour, I believe, is ſuſceptible of the ſame impreſſion.

6. To prevent the dough becoming too ſlack, it is generally *believed*, that bakers uſe alum, melted into the water, and probably ſome other mixtures. It will certainly add to the color of the bread, and ſupport the

coheſion of the parts of the loaf, ſo as to keep its form. Be the quantity ever ſo ſmall, to anſwer the baker's purpoſe, it muſt be injurious to the conſumer, particularly *infants*, and is a manifeſt violation of the laws of God as well as of the land.

7. It is ſometimes thought, that when wheat is *dear*, the meal-man or baker, or both, mix other kinds of flour, and ſometimes as low as that of beans. They are alſo ſuſpected of putting in lime, or whiteing, or pulverized bones: the belief of which is received by ſome. How far the *bean* accuſation may be founded on truth, I cannot anſwer; but I am not inclined to give the reſt any credit; as a man muſt not only be a very infamous fellow who acted ſuch a part, but could hardly do it without its being known, nor known without being puniſhed. An example is indeed ſhewn by the vintner, and in a much higher degree, for he ſometimes ſells you wine which has no juice of the grape.—Theſe are thy works, O luxury!

As to the remedies of theſe evils, they ſeem to be in ſome meaſure marked out by Z. (*a*) but I apprehend more is to be done than he mentions.

In regard to the *vulgar errors* of the conſumers,

1. It appears to me that they fall into one, in what is called the *lightneſs* of bread. The more air it contains, ſo much bigger will the loaf appear, and the more *windy* the bread may be; but bakers who mean right, and deal with people who do not run after ſtrange inventions, prick their loaves at-top in the dough,

on

(*a*) See Z's letter, p. 276.

on purpoſe that there may not be great hollows; and if the flour be well fermented and kneaded, and well baked, it will be cloſe and weigh in the hand, yet light to the palate and digeſtion: it will break ſhort, or, as I told you the marines obſerved to me, be like cake.

2. As to the *color*, the uſing a part of the fine pollard or particles of the finer bran, which obſtructs the coheſion of the finer parts of the flour, this renders the bread the lighter to the digeſtion, the more cooling to the body; and, I imagine, the more wholeſome.

3. Who is a lover of ſweet cakes and paſtry, and unfermented preparations of flour, but ſoon finds how unkind they are to the digeſtion, compared to genuine bread?

As to the difficulties the *poor* labor under, in regard to *grinding* and *bolting* their wheat, they are often a prey to the miller, eſpecially when he is connected with the baker, which too often happens.—When this is the caſe, it becomes the miller's intereſt to decline grinding the poor man's wheat, or to do it in ſuch a manner as to make him ſick of it. He will buy his wheat indeed, and ſend him to his *partner* the *baker* for bread, at a difference perhaps of 15 or 20 per cent. loſs to the poor man.

It was on this principle the *ſociety for the promotion of arts, manufactures, and commerce*, made ſeveral eſſays to introduce *hand-mills*, and ſeveral were executed with ſkill, but it was found to be too laborious to work them, and their powers are not ſufficient to make *complete* work.—Upon the experiment of ſuch a mill for grinding and bolting one buſhel of 59 lb. weight, it

ſtood thus: — — — — hours. min.
Four men employed — — — 1 9
Deduct 5 minutes reſt at one time, and 6
at another — — — - 11
Remains — — — — - 59
The meal, being 58 ½ lb. paſſed the clothes only once, and produced flour — — — 33 lb. 2 oz.
Rubbles or bran — — — — 25 lb. 7 oz.

If it had been bolted *three times* the flour had been doubtleſs much increaſed, and the loſs on the weight of the whole alſo increaſed: but it appears to be a very imperfect way of anſwering the purpoſes of the poor, when 48 inſtead of 33 lb. of flour may be made out of 59 lb. of wheat: and for the rich, it can only anſwer as to the being *ſure* of the genuine produce of their own wheat.

Therefore, where *water-mills* are not at hand, the next ſecureſt kind of mill, for ſmall quantities, is that which may be worked by a horſe, or even an aſs. For 100 *l.* to 150 *l.* ſuch a covering and machine may be provided, as is ſufficient for the purpoſe, and every gentleman who lives where there is no *water-mill* near, nor *wind-mill* to be depended on, will act the part of a ſincere friend to the poor and his country, if he will try the experiment. But then it is neceſſary to commit the care and management of it to ſome perſon, a miller, or to act as a miller, who ſhall be paid *wages*, and have no traffic in *meal* or *wheat*, for this is too great a temptation to evil practices.

About London they pay for grinding per buſhel — — — — — 2 *d.* or 3*d.*

In

In the country they generally pay in *griſt*, viz. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the peck, or $\frac{1}{16}$ of the buſhel, which, when wheat is at 6 *s.* per buſhel, is above — — — 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$
This is for *grinding*, the miller to fetch the wheat and carry home the bran and flour, and it comes per quarter to. 2 *s.* 10 *d.* It ſhould be always paid in money.

In other caſes it is $\frac{1}{8}$ of a peck, or $\frac{1}{32}$ of a buſhel, which is about — — — 2 *d.*
When the miller fetches the wheat and carries home the flour he often takes 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. per buſhel, which in value at 6 *s.* is near 6 *d.* or per quarter — — 4 *s.*
You may perceive, that in this article there is a great latitude left either to relieve, or to diſtreſs the poor.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, and a great friend to his country, who keeps a mill in his own hands, aſſures me, that though he receives his due, the laboring people, by their own account, have generally 2 lb. of flour *per buſhel* from his mill, more than they ſay they receive from other mills; ſo that you may conclude he never wants *cuſtom*, nor the people contentment. But he never ſuffers his miller to have the leaſt traffic in wheat, meal, bran, or flour; or to do any thing more than the duty of grinding; if there is the leaſt complaint, he is ſubject to loſe a conſiderable premium given him under the title of a *Chriſtmas box*. All millers, *I repeat*, ſhould be paid in money.

As to *bolting*, the common method is well known, though the different prices by which the qualities of bolting clothes are diſtinguiſhed may be ſometimes miſtaken. The *poor* generally bolt for themſelves.

There

There is a perſon at Mancheſter who has obtained a patent for a wire cloth bolting machine, which ſeems to be an invention of great importance. The probable durableneſs of it, the truth and quickneſs of the work, ſpeak highly in its favor; but perhaps it may not ſucceed the better for being kept in a corner, and ſecured by a *patent* to the excluſion of others. It works the meal by the friction of bruſhes of hogs briſtles; and you may eaſily conceive, that the velocity of the motion, being worked by a horſe, or by wind or water, will make quick and ſteady work. Different parts of it are of different fineneſs; ſo that by the proper movement of the machine, or the removal of ſome of the partitions, any ſort of flour may be dreſſed and diſtinguiſhed.

Now is the time for men of fortune and abilities, who have their country's good at heart, to enter into the merits of inventions ſo beneficial to the *poor*, and to the *rich* alſo. This machine will ſave many hands for the cultivation of the earth, where they are wanted; and convert the produce of it the more ſpeedily into food, to ſupport life.

I have but little further to add, beyond a few remarks on the *export* of corn. I have always conſidered this exportation as our proper *mine of gold*. But *times* alter; it *may* prove a grave to bury the glory of this land. Till animal ſubſtance, beer, ſoap, candles, and ſuch neceſſaries are reduced one third part, if not a half of their preſent prices, we muſt uſe the *more bread*; and if this continues likewiſe ſo dear, of the two evils we ſhall be in more danger of ſuffering from ſcarcity of proviſions, than from

ſcarcity

ſcarcity of gold, or the diminution of our balance of trade.—In ſhort, we muſt conſult our *ſecurity*, as the *firſt object*, and drop for a while the idea of encreaſe in riches. As to animal ſubſtance, it ſeems ſtill to riſe upon us; and I hear ſome complaints of *bad meat* being brought to market, which is a uſual conſequence of ſcarcity, though the people had better feed on bread only, than eat meat which is not good.

Upon the whole, let the ſcarcity abroad be what it may, unleſs the price at home be moderate, none of it ſhould be ſent out; except that from a principle of humanity, we ſhould give a particular permiſſion for a certain limited quantity. Large exports, which raiſe the price, operate as a tax on bread, which falls on the poor. Theſe are conſequently diſabled from drinking beer, and we loſe in one article, more than we gain in the other; beſides the danger ariſing from their being diſheartened or diſcontented.

In the mean time, it will help to keep up the ſpirit of tillage, if the farmer can purchaſe other neceſſaries cheaper than he could do before: If the condition of leaſes be made, to grow a certain quantity of wheat, it will add to the quantity; or if an *additional bounty* is given on exportation, when the price is below ſuch a ſtandard as affords encouragement.

In every caſe we muſt ultimately refer to the prevalency of our *cuſtoms* and *manners*, that the people may learn to diſtinguiſh what is *eſſentially neceſſary* to the preſervation of their lives and their *comfort*, from what their fancy

and opinion dictate; and not refine away the ſubſtance of ſound policy, or, as the dog in the fable, let go the *ſubſtance* which we want, and catch at the ſhadow of the thing which is not neceſſary.—In a word, we ſeem to be arrived at a *paſs*, where we muſt *halt*, and collect our forces, and give them *refreſhment*. We muſt examine the ground we are encamped upon, and reconnoitre the *enemy*, leſt our confidence in victory ſhould be the cauſe of a defeat.

Before I conclude theſe ſeveral (I ſuppoſe ſome imperfect) remarks on corn, I muſt obſerve, that the ſubject is become, in ſome reſpects, ſo delicate, that the *acts* relating to it are conteſted. Every art has its craft; and the practiſers often live by it. Till we can find out the means whereby *bakers* may gain moſt, by making a leſſer proper number, rather than a greater forced numnumber of loaves, of the ſame weight, out of any given *quantity* of flour, we muſt calculate, let the *quality* of ſuch flour be what it may, that they will *make the moſt of it*; and conſequently that their profits will be accordingly. Yet, as many of the ſame trade differ in honeſty, as well as ſkill, and many conſumers examine a little what they eat; as it is alſo an article in our political creed, and moſt agreeable to our *genius* and humanity, that a guilty perſon ſhould paſs with impunity, rather than an innocent one ſuffer; we muſt give food and raiment to the honeſt baker, as well as to others; and to him who works up *two buſhels*, as well as to him who manufactures *two* quarters of wheat, or any greater quantity, in a day.

It ſeems to be certain, that unleſs the computation for the gain on bread be made with equal liberality and prudence, ſo that the many thouſands employed in this branch may *live* on reaſonable terms, we ſhall not obtain perfect good bread at any price at all. I am well perſuaded at preſent, that you have not ſo good a commodity at eight-pence, as the trials and computations I have mentioned will give you at ſeven-pence: ſo far we are horribly impoſed on; or, in other words, *impoſe on ourſelves*, becauſe, like children, we cry for *white bread*. Let us determine on a law, and endevor to preſerve it inviolate; and there can be no doubt of ſucceſs. At preſent we pay *too much*, and yet have a bad commodity.

In regard to the perplexities which ariſe upon conſidering the different weights of *wheat*, and conſequently their different produce in *flour*, it were happy if the wheat were ſold by *weight*, but we muſt not ſuppoſe that we ſhall grow the worſe corn for any law that can be made. If we take our chance, we ſhall find, as we have done hitherto, that corn-factors, millers, and meal-men, will mix their corn, or at leaſt their flour, and often ſell the good and bad together. This is a conſtant practice, and it frequently makes the *better bread*.

If the baker is deceived in his *flour*, he will find it in his *bread*, and will be careful of whom he buys flour; and the meal-man of courſe will be cautious what he brings to market. The apprehenſion of abuſes on this head proves too much. Our ancient laws, which ſtood for ages, regulate the aſſize on wheat, not flour. Our

anceſtors thought this mode the leaſt exceptionable granting it to be ſubject to various evils.

There is one ſure maxim in trade, that where great profits are made, numbers of people will go into the branch, till by counteracting each other, the generality will receive the benefit; but general abuſes can be corrected only by *public* laws.

In regard to what I mentioned, page 265, of wheat of 50 lb. weight the buſhel, being hardly fit for bread; I have been ſince aſſured, that in the northern parts of this iſland, their wheat generally runs but little more than 50 lb. yet makes good bread.

With reſpect to the great jealouſy which exiſts, that millers are not to be truſted; I apprehend that there are honeſt men of all trades; and both millers and bakers, conſidered judicially, ſhould be *heard* before they are *condemned*.

As to him who pretends to decline grinding the wheat of the laboring part of the people, he muſt render himſelf obnoxious to their reſentments; and if complaints are made to the neighbouring gentlemen, theſe, who are the natural guardians of the indigent, will apply themſelves to the conſideration of the means whereby they can *counteract* ſuch men, who are as much enemies to the *landlord*, who employs the poor, as to the tenant or laboring poor themſelves: and if the miller *will* not act in character, he *ought* not to act at all, whenever the landlord can legally prevent it: for ſuch fellows *counteract* the beneficence of Providence, and, as far as they can, make war with heaven.

We ſhould alſo take other methods to encreaſe the quantity of aliment. We ſhould keep fewer horſes for pleaſure, and breed leſs numbers for exportation; and if we had more paſture for ſheep and oxen, we ſhould conſequently have more beef and mutton.

And in regard to hand-mills, mentioned page 309, whether they may not be employed by gentlemens or farmers ſervants, were it only to *break* horſe beans, and *grind* bran, for theſe being mixed with oats might ſave a great deal on the article of *horſes* feed, for which a vaſt conſumption is made in oats: and it is confeſſed that we feel it moſt ſenſibly in its conſequences, with regard to the *food of men*.

Our firſt concern is the *neceſſities* of the laboring part of our fellow ſubjects; and the ſhewing a good *example*; and whatever we gain in bread, on every quarter of wheat which the affluent conſume, and yet have a better commodity, ſo much *more bread* will come to the ſhare of the poor; and ſo much *more money* will remain in our pockets, which we may diſpoſe of for the relief of the poor.

A nation may be undone for fear of being undone; *i. e.* loſe their liberty for fear of loſing it; and if our method of encreaſing prices grows to maturity, like a diſeaſe in the natural body, it may not be curable, but by remedies as bad as the diſeaſe.

A complication of cauſes have rendered all proviſions dear. The high price of bread muſt be carried partly to the account of the rapacious temper that prevails amongſt

amongſt us. How guiltleſs many are I cannot ſay: I think the landed proprietors have a ſhare in the guilt. The monied proprietors have alſo contributed,—*becauſe they are ſo rich*, and ſpend extravagantly. Merchants have contributed, becauſe of their ſucceſs in trade, and during our late wars. The whole nation has contributed, becauſe they have *conſumed*, not according to the produce of the earth, but according to *appetite and fancy*, and as if we were *always* to *command the world*. In a word, we have *all* exceeded the bounds of neceſſity or moderation; and we muſt *all* mend our cuſtoms and manners, or it is eaſy to foreſee that the evil will encreaſe and grow inſupportable.

If a man of 500*l.* per annum were engaged to pay away 100*l.* and then, being told he muſt live on 400*l.* ſhould in anſwer ſay, that the propoſal was drawn up in *Eutopia*; would you not think him a proper inhabitant for the hoſpital in Moor-fields? And yet, if you talk of parſimony, as going to the root of our political *diſeaſe*, people will *turn their backs* upon you, or *laugh in your face!*

If we have not virtue to mend from *choice*, we muſt do it from *neceſſity*. If we do it early, we may continue a *great people*; if not ſo great in a *political* view, yet greater in our moral character. Whether we mend or not, it is probable we are paſt the zenith of our glory; and yet we may remain for ages glorious, ſometimes a little under a cloud, ſometimes darting forth with more tranſplendent brightneſs.

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In regard to our preying on each other by running up the value of things, we ſeem to be like an impetuous torrent, where wave impels wave, and ebbs downward, with a velocity proportioned to its height and magnitude. So are we ſubject as it were, by the law of gravitation, to *ſink* each other. Heaven grant we may ſhow, that we have heads and hearts capable of maintaining ourſelves in thoſe *ſacred rights* which belong to our reſpective ſtations, and which are eſſential to our liberty; remembering, that liberty and virtue, in the iſſue of things, will certainly be found inſeparably allied, and their union indiſſoluble. If you part with either, the other will certainly leave you, perhaps never to return again!—Let us hope for the beſt,—and be aſſured that

I am, very ſincerely,

March,
1767.

Yours, &c.

J. H.

